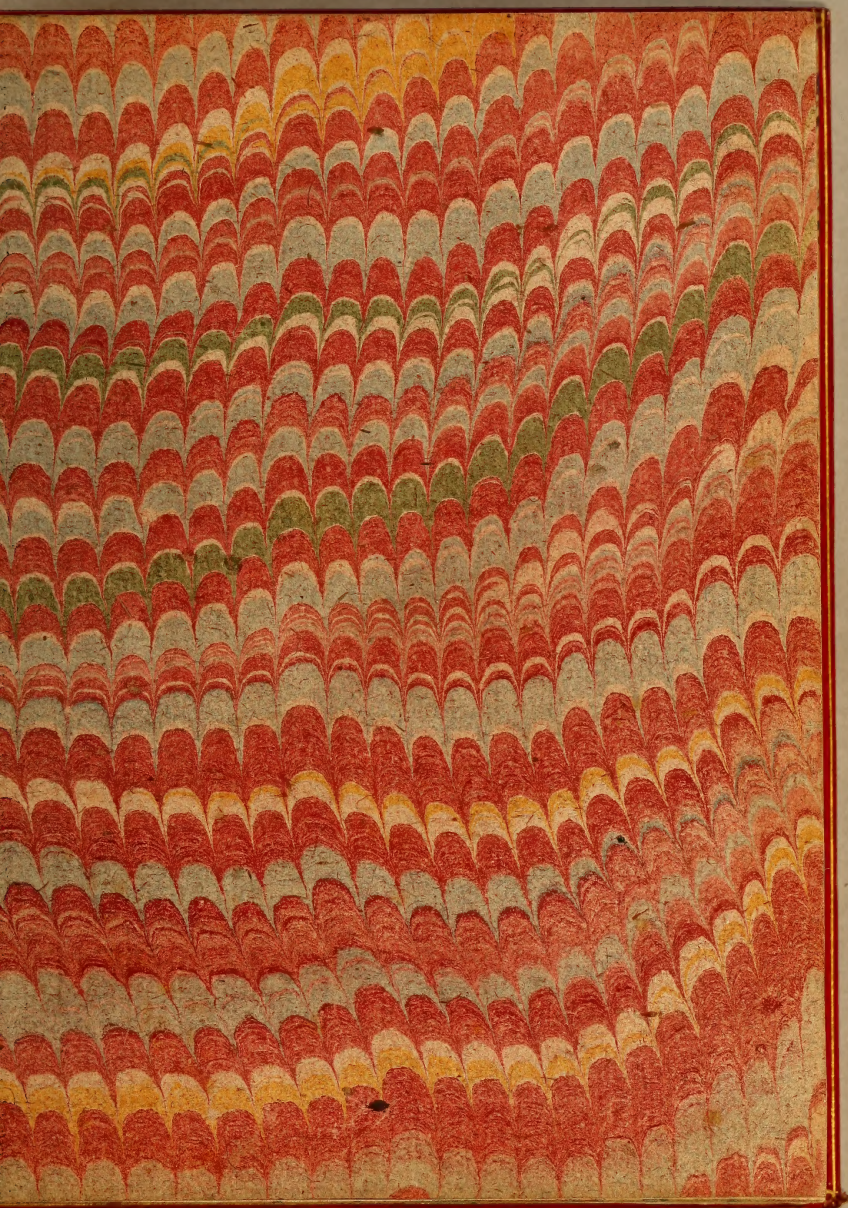
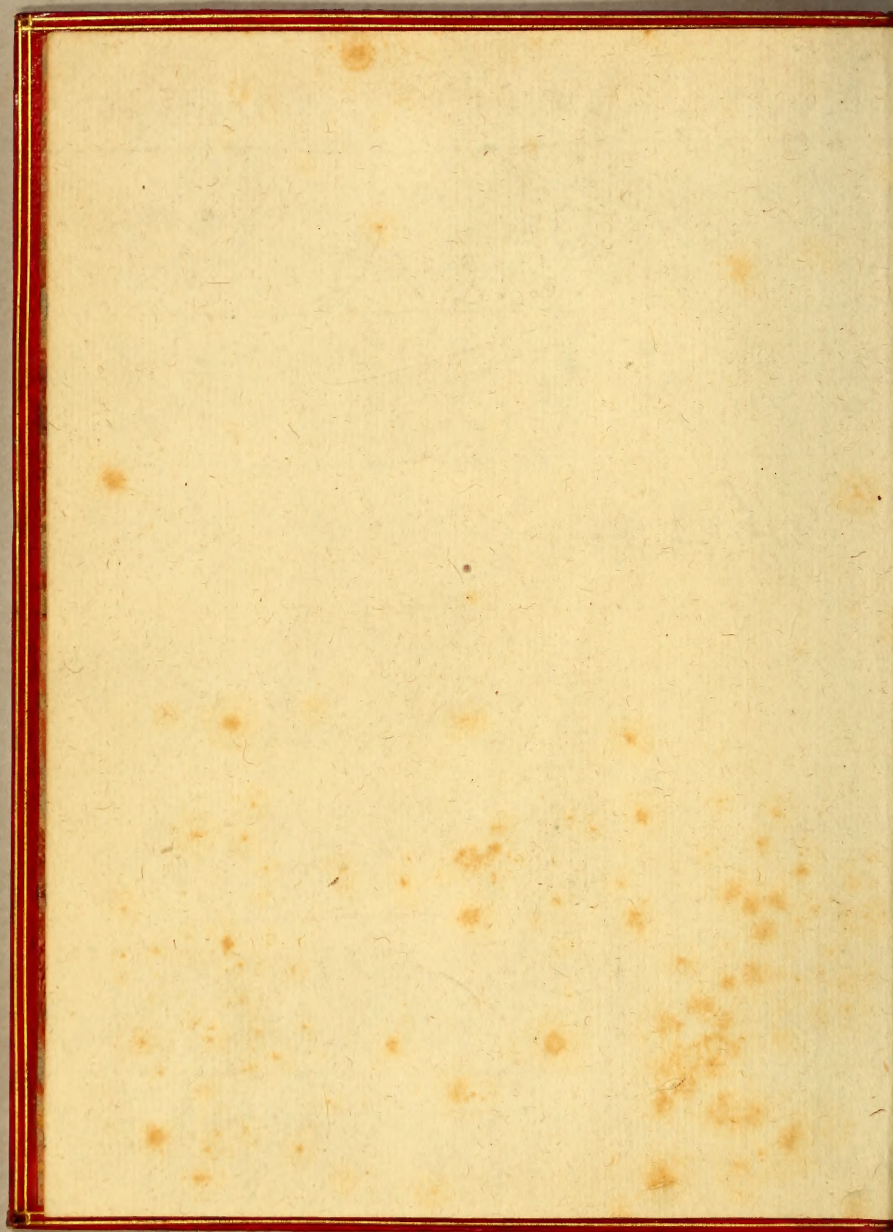
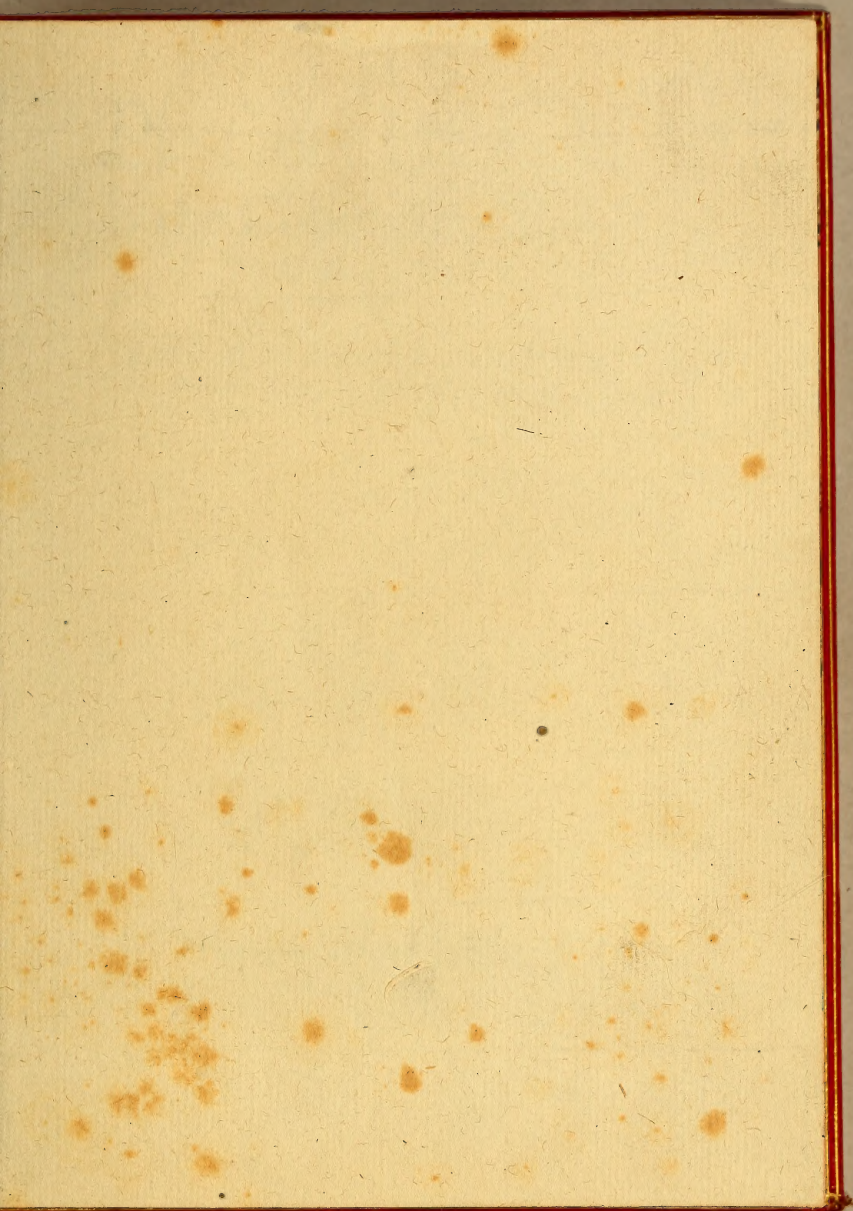


John Carter Broton.







Wagner's 2 ff

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THE
Pleasant Historie of
the Conquest of the
West India, now called
new Spaine.

Atchieued by the most woorthie Prince
Hernando Cortes, Marques of the Valley of
Huaxacac, most delectable to reade.

Translated out of the Spanish tongue, by
T. N. Anno. 1578.



LONDON
Printed by Thomas Creede.
1596.

THE
Pleasant History of the
the Company of the

Assembled by the Hon. W. the Duke of
and the Hon. the Duke of
the Duke of

The Duke of the Duke of the Duke of
T. N. Duke of the Duke of



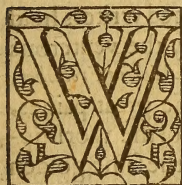
London
Printed by Thomas Cressel
1728



To the right Honourable

Sir Francis Walsingham Knight, principall
Secretary to the Queenes most excellent Ma-
iestie, and one of her highnesse most Ho-
nourable priue Counsell.

JOHN CARTER BROWN



Hilest I abode (right Honorable)
in the Isle of Palma, in affaires of
merchandize for the worshipfull
Thomas Lock deceased, and his cō-
pany, time then permitted me, to
haue conference with auncient
gentlemen which had serued in
the Conquest of the Weast India, now called
new Spaine, vnder the princely Captaine *Hernando
Cortes*. By whom as present witnesses at many of
the actes herein contained, I was credible infor-
med, that this delectable and worthie Historie is a
most true and iust report of matter past in effect:
wherfore I did the more willingly turne ouer and
peruse the same, which is a Mirroure and an excel-
lent president, for all such as shall take in hand to
gouerne new Discoueries: for here they shall be-
hold, how Glory, Renowne, and perfit Felicitie, is

The Epistle.

not gotten but with great paines, trauaile, peril and danger of life: heere shall they see the wisdom, curtesie, valour and pollicie of worthie Captaines, yea and the faithfull hearts which they ought to beare vnto their Princes seruice: heere also is described, how to vse and correct the stubborn and mutinous persons, and in what order to exalt the good, stout, and vertuous Souldiours, and chiefly how to preferue and keepe that beautifull Dame *Ladie Victorie*, when she is obtained. And where it was supposed, that the golden mettall had his beginning and place in the East and West *India*, neare vnto the hote Zoan, (as most learned writers held opinion) it is now approoued by the venterous trauellour and worthie Captaine *Martin Frobisher*, Esquier, yea and also through the great paines, procurement, and first inuention of the worshipfull *Michael Locke* Merchant, that the same golden mettall dooth also lie incorporate in the bowels of the Northwest parties, enuironed with admirable Towers, pillars and pinacles, of rockes, stone, and lse, possessed of a people both straunge, and rare in shape, attire and liuing, yea such a Countrey and people, as al *Europe* had forsaken and made no account of, except our most gracious Queene and her subiects, whom vndoubtedly God hath appointed, not onely to be supream Princessse ouer them, but also to be a meane that the name of Christ may bee knowne vnto this heathenish and sauage generation.

Not long since (right Honourable) I happened
to

The Epistle.

to trauell from the famous Citie of *Toledo* in *Spainie*,
towards high *Castile*, and by fortune ouertooke an
auncient Gentleman, worshipfully accompanied,
vnto whom I was so bolde as to approch, besee-
ching his worship to aduertise me of his iourney:
who (after hee had behelde my white head and
beard) answered full gently, that his intent was to
trauell vnto the king of *Spaines* Court, and welco-
med me vnto his companie. In short space that we
had iourneied together, and communed of each o-
ther his Countrey, it pleased him to say as follo-
weth: My good friend, if you knewe my sute
vnto the Kings maiestie, you would iudge that I
were a mad man, and therefore to shorten our way,
I will declare my attempted sute vnto you. You
shall vnderstand, that I am a Gentleman of three
score and ten yeares of age, and sometimes I serued
in the ciuill warres of *Pirru*, where I was woun-
ded in diuerse parts of my bodie, and am now ther-
by lame in one of my legges and shoulder. I haue
neither wife nor childe, and at this present (God
be prayfed) I haue in the Contractation house in
the Citie of *Swill*, in golde and plate, the summe of
thirtie thousand Duckets: and I haue also in *Pirru*
in good landes and possessions, the yearely rent of
twelue thousande Duckets, which rentes and
readie money is sufficient to mainteine a poore
Gentleman. But al this notwithstanding, I do now
sue vnto the kings Maiestie, to haue a licence and
authoritie to discouer and conquer a certaine part
of *India*, which adioyneth with *Brazile*, and is part

The Epistle.

of the Empire of *Perru*, I pray you now declare what you think of my sute. By my troth sir (quoth I) I trust your worship will pardon a rash and sudden iudgement, which you now demand at my hand: yea truly (quoth he) say what you list. Then (quoth I) my opinion is, that you are not well in your wit, for what would you haue? will not reason suffice you? or els would you now in your old daies be an Emperor, considering that your Sepulchre attendeth for you. Now truly I thank you (quoth he) for of your iudgement are most men: but I say vnto you, considering that all flesh must finish, I seek for no quiet rest in this transitorie life: yea the wise and Christian doctors doe teach and admonish, that euery true Cristian is born, not for his owne priuate wealth and pleasure, but rather to helpe & succor others his poore brethren. Likewise do I consider the great number of gentlemen yonger brethren, and other valiant persons, who through want of liuing, doe fall into many disorders. Wherefore to accomplish my dutie towarde God and my prince, & to relieue such poore Gentlemen, doe I now attempt this iourney, with the aduenture of my bodie & goods, and for that purpose I haue in readines foure tall ships, well furnished in the port of *S. Lucar de Barrameda*, hoping assuredly, that before the life depart out of my bodie, to heare these valiant yong gentlemen (whom now I mean to haue in my company) say, oh happy day, when olde *Zarate* (for so is my name) brought vs from penurie, yea and from a number
of

The Epistle.

of perils that we were like to fall into. I hope also, that the royall estate of my Prince shall bee by my paines, and poore seruice enlarged: beleue you me, this is the onelie sumptuous tumbethat I pretend to build for my poore carkas. But yet I know there are some, vnto whō I may compare the Bore that lieth wallowing in the Stie, who will not let to say, what need we anie other world, honour, or kingdoms? let vs be contented with that we haue: who may easily be answered, Sir glutton, your panch is full, and little care you for the glorie of God, honour of your Prince, neither the need and necessitie of your poore neighbours. With this conclusion the Gentleman ended his tale, the iudgement whereof, I leaue to noble Gentlemen his peeres to be determined.

And where our Captaine *Hernando Cortes*, of whose valiant acts this historie treateth; hath deserved immortal fame, euen so doubtlesse I hope, that within this happie Realme is nowe liuing a Gentleman, whose zeale of trauell and valiant beginning doth prognosticate great, maruellous, and happie successe: for perfection of honor and profit is not gotten in one day, nor in one or two voyages, as the true histories of the East and West conquests by Spaniardes and Portingals doe testifie. And calling to remembrance the great zeale and good will which your honor hath alwaies extended to good and profitable attempts, and especially in the proceedings of the new discouerie, your honor hath not only vsed liberality in your aduen-
tures,

The Epistle.

tūres, but also taken great paines in Court to ad-
uaunce and further the voiage, a number I say of
Gentlemen, Mariners, and other Artificers, shall
haue great cause to pray for your honour. And
where I for my part haue tasted of your honours
goodnes sundrie waies, I am now most humbly to
beseech your honor to accept this poore gift, the
which I haue translated out of the Spanish tongue,
not decked with gallant colours, nor yet filed with
pleasant phrase of Rhetorike, for these things are
not for poore Merchant trauelers, but are referred
to learned Writers: yet I trust the Author will par-
don me, because I haue gone as neare the sense of
this historie, as my cunning would reach vnto. I
also craue, that it may please your honour, when
your great and waighty matters will permit, to be-
hold this worke, and that shalbe for me an encou-
ragement to take in hand the translation of the
East India, which is now enioyed by the
king of Portingale. Thus I end, be-
seeeching the Almighty to
preserue your hono-
rable estate.

Your honors most readie at commandment

Thomas Nicholls.

Stephan Gosson in praise of the Translator.

THe Poet which sometimes hath trod awry,
And sung in verse the force of fire loue,
When he beholds his lute with carefull eye,
Thinks on the dumps that he was wont to proue.
His groning spright yprickt with tender ruth,
Calles then to minde the follies of his youth.

The hardie minde which all his honor gotte,
In bloudie field by frute of deadly iarre,
When once he heares the noyse of thirled shotte,
And threatening trumpet sound the points of warre,
Remembers how through pikes he lovde to runne,
When he the price of endlesse glory wonne.

The trauelier which nere refusde the paine,
To passe the daunger of the streights he found,
But hoysted saile to search the golden vaine,
Which natures craft hath hidden in the ground.
When he perceiues Don Cortez here so peart,
May well be mindfull of his owne desert.

Then yeeld we thanks to Nicholas for his toyle,
VWho strings the Lute that putteth vs in minde,
How doting dayes haue giuen vs all the foyle,
VWhilste learned wits in forreine lands do finde.
That labour beares away the golden fleece,
And is rewarded with the flower of Greece.

Loe here the trumpe of euerlasting fame,
That rendes the aire in sunder with his blast,
And throwes abroad the praises of their name,
VWhich oft in fight haue made their foes agast.
Though they be dead, their glory shall remaine,
To reare aloft the deeds of haughtie Spaine.

Loe here the trauelier, whose painfull quill,
So liuely paints the Spanish Indies out,
That English Gentlemen may view at will,
The manly prowesse of that gallant rout.
And when the Spaniard vaunteth of his gold,
Their owne renouwe in him they behold.

FINIS.

In Thomæ Nicholai occidentalem Indiam
Stephan Goslon.

SOr defcant Cræsi raciantia tecta Pyropo,
Et iaceat vniuersi pompa superba Myde.
Aurea felici voluntur secula cursu,
Pactoli assidue flumina vera tument.
Terra ferax pandit, sua viscera plena metallis
Pregnans, diuitias parturit illa suas.
India luxuriat, locupleti prole triumphat,
Pinguet solum gemmis, fundere gestit opes.
O vos qui patriæ cupitis fulcire ruinas,
Et dare mella bonis aurea, mentis ape.
Cortezi hos animo cupide lustrate labores,
Postquæ, reluctanti credita vela Salo.



To the Reader.



I thought it good gentle Reader, to aduertise thee to consider in reading this history, that Hernando Cortes was not the firste that did discover the newe Spaine, for after the Ilands of Santo Domingo and Cuba were discovered, conquered, and inhabited by the Spaniards, Hernando Cortes, was then a dweller in the Iland of Santo Domingo, and at that time was gouernoure in the Iland of Cuba one Iames Velasques, who had understanding (by others) that nere vnto those Ilands stode a firme land, rich of golde and plate, wherbypon the same Velasques prepared certaine Ships, and in them sent for Generall a kinsman of his, called Iohn de Grijalua, who with one Francisco Hernandez de Cordoua, discovered the said firme land in trafike of marchandise, and for things of little value, he broughte greate treasure, as shall appeare in an Inuentorie placed in this historye.

This Grijalua pretended not to conquer, nor yet to inhabit, but onely to fill his hungry bellie with golde and silver, for if he had pretended honour, then Cortes had not enioyed the perpetuall fame which now is his, although his corpe be clothed in clay.

In this history doth appeare the simplicitie of those ignorant Indians in time past, yea and how they were de-
h luded

To the Reader.

luded in worshipping Idolles and wicked Mamon, their
bloudie slaughter of men in sacrifice, and now the greate
mercie of Iesus Christ extended vpon them in lightning
their darknesse, giuing them knowledge of the eternitie,
and holy trinitie in vnitie, whereby they are nowe more
densute vnto heauenly things then we wretched Chri-
stians, (who presume of auntient Christianitie) especially
in Charitie, humilitie, and liuely woyses of faith.

And now (gentle Reader) I do so, my part but one,
ly craue, that it may please the to accept these
my paines taken, in good part, so, other
benefite I seeke not.

Farwell.

(T.N.)





The Conquest of the West India.

The byrth and linage of *Hernando Cortez.*



In the yeare of our Saviour, 1485. being kings of Castill and Aragon, the Catholike princes Fernando and Isabel his wife, was bozne Hernando Cortez, in a towne called Medellin, situated in the prouince of Andulozia : his father was named Mar-

tin Cortez de Monroy, and his mother was called Katherine Pisarro Almirano, they were both of good birth, and proceeded of foure principal houses, that is to say, the house of Cortez, the house of Monroy, the house of Pisarro, & the house of Almirano, which foure houses are ancient, noble and honourable : yet these parents but poore in goods, but rich in vertue and good life, for which cause they were much esteemed and beloued among their neighbors. His mother was of inclination deuout, but somewhat hard : his father was charitable and mercifull, who in his youth applied himselfe to the warres, and was lieutenant to a companie of horsemen. Hernando Cortez in his childhood was very sickly, so that many times he was at the poynnt of death. And when he came to xiiij. yeares of age, his parents sent him to the vniuersitie of Salamanca, where he remained two yeres, learning Grammer, and then returned to Medellin wearie of his studie, yea possible for

The Conquest of

want of money: yet his parents were much offended with him for leaving his studie, for their onely desire was to haue had him a student at law, which is a facultie both rich and worshipfull, considering their son to be of a good wit and abilitie: yet he caused much strife in his fathers house, for he was a very unhappie lad, high minded, and a louer of chiuallrie, for which cause he determined with himselfe to wander abroad to seeke aduentures. And at that instant hapned two iourneys fit for his purpose and inclination. The one of them was to Naples with Gonzalo Hernandez of the Citie of Cordoua, who was a worthy man, and named the great captaine. And the other iourney was to the West India, with the Lord Nicholas de Ouando, a knight of the order of Larez, who was then appointed for gouernor of those parties. And musing with himselfe which way to take, determined to passe into India, chiefly because the gouernor was of his acquaintance, and such a one as would haue care of him. And likewise the great desire of gold made him to couet that voyage more then the iourney vnto Naples. Now in the meane while that the shipe was preparing for India, it chanced Hernando Cortez pretended to go vnto a certain house in the night season to talke with a woman, and climbing ouer a wall which was of weake foundation, both he and the wall fell together: so that with the noise of his fall, and ratling of his armour which he ware, came out a man newly married, and finding him fallen at his doore, would haue slaine him, suspecting somewhat of his newly married wife, but that a certaine olde woman (being his mother in law) with great perswasions staid him from that fact. Yet with the fall he fel into a grieuous ague, and continued sicke a long season, so that he could not proceede vpon his voyage with the gouernour Ouando. And when he had obtained, and fully recovered his health, hee

minded

the west India.

3

mindes to passe into Italie, and so toke his way towarde Valentia, wandering here and there almost a whole yere with much necessitie and pouertie, and then returned home againe to Medellyn, with determination to proceede vpon his pretended voyage of India: Where vpon his father and mother weying their sonnes estate, desired God to blesse him, and gaue him money in his purse for his iourney.

The age of Cortez when he passed
into India.



Ernando Cortez was of the age of nineteen yeres, in the yere of Christ, 1504: & then he went toward India, and agreed for his passage and victual with Alonso Quintezo, who went in companie of other foure ships laden with marchandice, which nauie departed from S. Lucas de Barramedo, with prosperous nauigation, vntill they arriued at the Iland of Gomera, one of the Cauiary ilands, wher they did prouide theselues of al things necessarie for so long a voyage as they then had in hand.

Alonso Quintezo, being greedy of his voyage, and desirous to come to the Iland of Santo Domingo before his fellowes, hoping to sell his commoditie the better, departed from Gomera in the night season without knowledge giuing vnto his company. But incontinent after he had hoysed vp his sayles, arose vp so great a winde and tempest, that his maine mast brake, whereby he was forced to returne backe againe to the Ilande of Gomera. And hee made earnest request to them of the other Shippes to stay for him, vntill hee had mended his Shippe, who friendly and neighbourly graunted his desire,

The Conquest of

and departed altogether, sayling in sight the one of the other certaine dayes : yet the saide Quintero, seeing the weater stedfast, and harping vpon gaines, flew from his fellows againe. And where as Frances Ninio de Guelua his pilote was not expert in that nauigation, they knewe not where they were : at length the Mariners gaue sundrie iudgements. The Pilote was in great perplexitie and sadnesse, their passengers lamented, and bewayled their vnfortunate successe : the Maister of the ship layde the fault to the Pilote, and the Pilote likewise charged the Maister, for it did appeare they were fallen out before. In this meane time their victuall waxed scant, and their fresh water wanted, so that they prepared themselves to die. Some cursed their fortune, others asked mercie at Gods hand, looking for death, and to be eaten of the Caribes. And in this time of tribulation came a Dove flying to the ship, being on good Friday at Sunne set, and satte him on the ship toppe : whereat they were all comforted, and tooke it for a myracle, and good token, and some wept with ioy, some sayd that God had sent the Dove to comfort them : others saide that land was neare, and all gaue heartie thanks vnto God, directing their course that way that the Dove flew : and when the Dove was out of sight, they sorrowed againe, but yet remained with hope to see shortly land. And on Easter day they discovered the Island of Santo Domingo, which was first descried by Christopher Zorfo, who cried, land, land, a cheerfull voice to the saylers. The Pilote looked out, and knew that it was the point, or cape of Semana. and within foure daies after, they arrived in the port of Santo Domingo, which was long wished for, and there they found the other ships of their companie arrived many dayes before.

Comfort of
God.

The

the west India.

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The time that Cortez abode in Santo Domingo.



Done after that the Gouvernour Quando was in his regiment and office, Cortez arrived at Santo Domingo, and the Gouvernours Secretarie, called Medina, receyued and lodged him, and also informed him of the estate of the Island, and advised him what was needefull to doe, wishing that hee would be a dweller there, and that he should haue a plot to build vpon, with certaine ground for husbandrie. But Cortez his thought was cleane contrarie: for he iudged, that as soone as he came thither, he should lade with gold, whereby he did little esteeme his friend Medina his counsell, saying, that he had rather goe to gather gold, then to trauell in husbandrie. Medina yet perswaded him, that he should take better aduise ment, for to finde golde, was doubtfull, and verie troublesome. This talke ended, Cortez went to kisse the Gouvernours hands, and to declare the cause of his coming, with other newes from Estremadura the Gouvernours countrey. The gouvernour friendly welcomed him, and also perswaded him to abide there, the which counsell hee accepted, and shortly after went to the warres, whereof was captaine Iaymes Velasques, in the prouince of Anigua laqua, and Guaca Iarima, and other Lordships which were not as yet pacified with the late rebellion of Anacoana widow, who was a gentle woman of great lining. Quando gaue vnto Cortez certaine Indians in the Countrey of Daigua, and also the office of publike notarie in Azua, a towne which the Gouvernour had builded, and there dwelt Cortez five or six yeares, and began to play the good husband. Now in this meane season hee would haue gone to Veragua, which

The Conquest of

which was reported to be marvellous riche, with the Captayne James de Nicuesa: but because of an empostume that he had vnder his right knee, he went not, and as it happened, he was therein fortunat, for that thereby he escaped great perils and troubles, whiche happened to them that went on that voyage and iourney.

Things that happened to Cortez in
the Island of Cuba.



He Lord James Coler being Admiral and chief Governour of y^e new India, set one James Velasques to conquer the Island of Cuba, in the yeare. 1511. And gaue vnto him men, Armour, and other thinges necessary. And then Hernando Cortez wet to that conquest as a clearke to the Treasorer, called Michaell de Passamonres, for to keepe the accompts of the Kings fittes and reuenues, being so intreated and required by the same James Velasques, because he was hol: & for a man both able and diligent. And it folowed, that in the repartition of y^e lands conquered, James Velasques gaue vnto Cortez the Indians of Manicorao, in coniunct company with his brother in lawe called Iuan Xuarez, whereupon Cortez did inhabite in Saint James de Barucoa, which was the first place of habitation in that Islande, whereas hee bredde and brought by Kine, Shepe, and Hares, and was the first that hadde there any heard or flocke, and with his Indians he gathered great quantitie of golde, so that in short time he waxed riche, and ioyned in company with one Andres de Duero a Marchaunt, and put in two thousande Castlins for his flocke. He was also highly esteemed with James Velasques and put in authoritie to dispatch businesse, and to giue

glue order for edifices. In his time he caused a money house to be built, & also an Hospital. At that time one Iuan Xuarez naturall of the Citie of Granada, carried to the Ile of Cuba his mother and thre sisters, whiche came to the Island of Santo Domingo, with that vicequene the Lady Mary of Toledo, in Anno. 1509. hoping to marry them there with rich men, for they were verie poore. And the one of them named Cathelina was wont to say, That she shoulde be a greafe Gentlewoman: it was eyther by dyrames and fantasies, or else some Astronomer hadde made her beleue so, but her mother was reported to be very cunning. The maydens were beautifull, for which cause, and also being there but fewe Spannishe women, they were muche made of, and often feasted. But Cortez was woer to the saide Cathelina, and at the ende married with hir: Although at the first there was some strife about the matter, and Cortez put in prison, because he refused hir for his wife, but she demaunded him as hir husband by faith and troth of hand: where in James Velasques did stande hir friende, by reason of an other sister of hers which he had, but of an euill name. It so fell out that one Balazar Bermudez, Iuan Xuarez, & the two Anthony Velasques, with one Villegas accused Cortez, that he ought to marrie with Cathelina, yet those witnessles spake of euill will many things, as touching y^e affaires committed to his charge, alleadging y^e he vsed secret dealing with certaine persons. The which causes although they were not true, yet they carried great colour therof: For why many wēt secretly to Cortez his house, complayning of James Velasques. Some because they had not iust reparation of the conquered Indians, and other some not according to deserte. Contrariwise James Velasques gaue credit to his tale bearers, because Cortez refused to marry wth Cathelina Xuarez & vsed uncourteous wordes vnto him in y^e presēce of many

The Conquest of

that stood by, and also commaunded him to warde. And when Cortez sawe himselfe in the stocks, he feared some proces of false witnesse, as manie times doth happen in those parties. At time conuenient he bzake the Locke of the stocks, and laide hand vpon the sward and target of the keeper, and bzake vp a window, escaping thereby into the stræte, and toke the Church for Sanctuary. But when Iaymes Velasques had notice therof, he was greatly offended with Christopher Lagos the Jailor, saying that for money hee had losed him: wherefoze hee procured by all meanes to pluck him out of the Sanctuary. But Cortez hauing intelligence of his dealing, did resist and withstand his force. Yet notwithstanding, one day Cortez walking befoze the Church doze, and being carelesse of his businesse, was caught by the backe with a Sergeant called Iohn Esquier, and others, and then was put aboard a Ship vnder hatches. Cortez was well beloued among his neighbours, who did well consider the euill will that the gouernour bare vnto him. But now Cortez seeing himselfe vnder hatches, dispaired of his libertie, and did verely thinke, that he should be sent prisoner to the Chancerie of Santo Domingo, or else to Spaine, who being in this extremitie, sought all meenes to get his foote out of the chaine, and at length hee got it out, and the same night he chaunged his apparell with a lad that serued him, and by the Pumpe of the Shippe hee got out, not heard of anie his keepers, climbing softly along the Shippe side, he entred the Skiffe, and went his way therewith, and because they shoulde not pursue after him, he losed the Boate of another Ship that roade by them. The Currant of Macaguanigua, a Riuier of Barucos, was so fierce, that he could not get in with his Skiffe, because he had no helpe to row, and was also very fearefull to be drowned if he should put himselfe to the land, where.

Cortez escaped.
path.

the west India.

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wherefoze he stripped himselfe naked, and tied a night-hercheffe about his head, with certaine writings appertaining to his office of Potarie and Clearkship to the Treasurer, and other things that were agaynst the Gouvernour James Velasques, and in this sort swamme to lande, and went home to his owne house, and spake with Iohn Xuarez his brother in law, and tooke Sanctuarie againe with armour. Then the Gouvernour James Velasques sent him worde, that all matter should be forgotten, and that they shoulde remayne friends as in time past they had bene, and to goe with him to the Warres agaynst certaine Indians that had rebelled. Cortez made him no aunswere, but incontinent married with mistresse Catalina Xuares, according to his promise, and to live in peace. James Valasques proceeded on his journey with a great companie agaynst the Rebels. Then saide Cortez to his brother in lawe Iohn Xuares, bzing me (quoth he) my Launce, and my Crossebow to the Townes ende. And so in that evening hee went out of Sancturie, and taking his Crossebow in hande, hee went with his brother in lawe to a certaine Farme, where James Valasques was alone, with his housholde servants, for his armie was lodged in a village thereby, and came thither somewhat late, and at such tyme as the Gouvernour was perusing his Booke of charges, and knocked at his dooze which stode open, saying: Here is Cortez that would speake with the Gouvernour, and so went in. When James Valasques saw him armed, and at such an houre, hee was marvellously afraide, desiring him to rest himselfe, and also to accept his Supper: No Sir (quoth he) my onely com-
 mending is, but to know the complaints you haue of mee, and to satisfie you therein, and also to bee your friend and seruito.

The gover-
 nor was fore
 afraide.

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of friendship. And after long talke, they lay both in one bedde, where Iames de Orrelano found them, who went to carrie newes to the Gouvernour, how Cortez had fledde. After this sozt came Cortez againe to his former friend-ship with Iames Velasques, and proceeded with him to the Marres, but afterward at his returne, he was like to haue bin drowned in the sea: for as he came from the Caues of Bani, to visite certaine of his shepheardes and Indians that wzought in the Mines of Barucoa, where his dwelling was, his Canoa or little boate ouerthrew, being night, and halfe a league from land, with tempest, whereby he was put to his shifts, and forced to swim, and hapned to espie light that certaine Shepheardes had, which were at supper nere the sea side. By such like perils and dangers, run the excellent men their race, vntil that they arrive at the haueu where their good lot is preserved.

The discouerie of new Spaine.



Frances Hernandes de Cordoua, did first discouer Xucatan, going with thre ships for Indians, or else to barter. These Shippes were set forth by Christopher Morante, and Lope Ochoa de Saizedo, in Anno 1517. And although hee brought home nothing at that time but stripes, yet he brought perfect relation, how the countrey was riche of gold & siluer, and the people of the countrey clothed. Then Iames Velasques gouernor of the Iland of Cuba, sent the next yere following his kinsman, called Iohn de Grijalua with two hundred Spaniards in foure ships, thinking to obtaine much gold and siluer for his marchandise at those places, which Frances Hernandes had informed him: So that

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that Iohn de Grijalua went to Xucatan, and there soughte with the Indians of Campoton, and was hurt. From thence he entred the river of Tauasco, which Grijalua had so named, in the whiche place he bartered for things of small value. He had in exchange golde, cloth of cotten wool, and other curious things wrought of feathers. He was also at Saint Iohn de Vlhua, and tooke possession for the King, in the name of Iames Velasques, and there also exchanged his Haberdashe wares, for Golde, and Couerlets of cotten, and feathers: and if he had considered his good fortune, hee would haue planted habitation in so rich a land, as his company did earnestly request him, and if he had so done, then had he bin as Cortez was. But such wealth was not for him which knew it not, although he excused him selfe, saying, he went not to inhabite, but to barter onely in traffike of his Marchandise, and to discover whether that land of Xucatan were an Islande, or no. And finding it a maine land, and populous, he left off for very feare. Likewise, some of his company were desirous to returne to Cuba, among whom, was one Pedro de Aluado, who was farre in loue with a woman of that countrey. So they determined to returne, with relation to the Gouvernoure of such things as hadde happened till that day, and sayled homewardest along the coast to Panuco, and so came to Cuba, to the greate grieve of many of his company. Yea some of them wept with sorrowe, that hee would not abide in that rich countrey. He was five monethes vpon his voyage homewarde from lande to lande, and eight moneths till his returne to the Citie. But when he came home, the Gouvernoure hauing heard of his proceedings, would not looke vpon him, whiche was his iust reward.

Men tangled
in foolish loue.

The Conquest of

The Inuentorie of the treasure that Grijalua
brought for his wares.



Ohn de Grijalua, bought of the Ind-
ans of Potōchan, Saint Iohn de Vlha
and other places of that coast, such
things as made his fellows farre in
loue with h^e countrey, & loth to depart
frō thence. The workmanship of ma-
ny of the things that they bought,
was moze worth than the thing it selfe, as this Inuen-
tozie particularly doth shew.

The Inuentorie.

A Little Idoll of gold hollow.
A greater of golde, with hoznes and haire, with a
string of beaddstones about his necke, and a flydapp
in his hand, and a little stone for his nanill.

A pēce of golde, like a patent of a Chalice, garnished
with stones.

A Skull of gold, with two hoznes, and blacke haire.

Two and twentie eare-rings of gold.

Two and twentie pēces of another fashon.

Four bracelets of golde very broad.

A paire of beades of golde, the stones hollowe, with a
frogge of gold hanging at the same.

Another paire with a Lyon of gold.

A great paire of ear-rings of gold.

Two little Eagles of gold hollow.

A little Saltfeller of gold.

Two ear-rings of gold with Turkie stones.

A collar to hang about a womans necke, of twelue
pēces, with foure and twentie stones hanging thereat.

A great collar of gold.

Sixe little collers of gold thin.

Seuen

Seuen other collers of gold with stones.
 Foure ear-rings of golden lease.
 Twentie fishing hookes of gold.
 Twelue graines of gold, waying fiftie Duckets.
 A headlace of gold.
 Certaine thin planches of gold.
 A Pottage pot of gold.
 An Iboll of gold hollow.
 Certaine thin branches of gold.
 Pine bead stones of gold.
 Two paire of gilt beades.
 One paire of wooden beads gilt.
 A little cuppe of golde, with eight purple stones, and
 twentie thre stones of another colour.
 Foure belles of gold.
 A little saluer of gold.
 A little hore of gold.
 Certaine small collers of gold of small value.
 A hollow apple of gold.
 Fortie hatchets of gold mixed with copper, valued in two
 thousand five hundred Duckets.
 A whole harnesse or furniture for an armed man of gold,
 thin beaten.
 An other whole armour of wood with leaues of gold, gar-
 nished with little blacke stones.
 A certaine pce made like vnto a feather, of an hide and
 gold ioynely wrought.
 Foure pces of armour of wood made for the knees, and
 covered with golden lease.
 Two Targets covered with feathers of many and fine
 colours.
 Diuerse other targets of gold and feathers.
 A tuffe of feathers of sundrie colours, with a little bird in
 the midst, very liuely.

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A wing of gold and feathers.

Two flyflappes of feathers.

Two litle chamberpottes of Allabaster, beset with many trimme stones, and some fine, & among them there was one esteemed at two thousand Duckets.

Certaine beades of tinne.

Five paire of wooden beades rounde and couered with a leafe of gold very thinne.

A hundreth and thirtie hollow bead stones of gold.

Many beades of wood gilt.

A paire of Bissors of wood gilt.

Two gilt vissors.

A vissor of strange iesture of gold.

Foure vissors of wood gilt.

Foure dishes of wood couered with golden leafe.

A dogges head of gold beset with stones.

An other beastes head garnished with gold.

Five paire of russh shoes.

Thre red hides.

Seven razors of flint stone, soz to cut by men that were sacrificed.

Two painted dishes of wood with an Ewer.

A garment with halfe sleeves of feathers of exceeding fine colours.

A couerlet of feathers.

Many couerlets of cotten very fine.

Many other couerlets of cotten course.

Two kercheffes of good cotton.

Many perfumes of swete odour, much of that countrey fruite.

They also brought a gentlewoman that was giue them, and other prisoner Indians. And soz one of them was offered his weight in golde, but Grijalua woulde not take it.

They

They also brought newes that there were Amazons women of warre, in certaine Ilandes, and manie gaue credit, being amazed at the things that they had brought bartered for things of a vile price: as here-vnder appeareth the Marchandice that they gaue for all the aforesaid Jewels.

The Inuentorie of the Spanish Marchandice.

Three course shirts.
 Three paire of Hariners breeches of linnen.
 Five paire of womens shoes.
 Five broad leatherne girdles wrought with coloured thread, with their purses.
 Many purses of shepes skinne.
 Sixe glasses a little gilt.
 Foure brouches of glasse.
 Two thousand beadstones of glasse graine.
 A hundred paire of beads of diuerse colours.
 Twentie wooden combes.
 Sixe paire of Silvers.
 Fifteene knives great and small.
 A thousand saylers needles.
 Two thousand pinnes of sorts.
 Eight paire of corded shoes.
 A paire of pinfers, and a hammer.
 Seven red night cappes.
 Three coates of colours.
 A frese coate with a cap of the same.
 An old graine velvet coate.
 An olde velvet cap.

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The determination of Cortez to prepare a
Nauie for discouerie.



Because Iohn de Grijalua was absent a longer season than was Frãscisco Hernandez de Cordoua, befoze his return or giuing aduise of his proceedings, y^e gouerno^r Valasques prepared a Caruel, & therin sent one Christopher de Olid, fo^r to seeke Grijalua with succour if need were, & gaue Olid great charge, y^e he should return with newes frõ Grijalua with all speed. But this messenger taried but a smal while vpon his voiage, and saw but little of Yucatan, & not finding Grijalua, he returned back again to Cuba, which returne hapned not wel fo^r the gouerno^r, no^r yet fo^r Grijalua. Fo^r if he had proceeded soozth on his way to S. Iohn de Vlhua, hee had then met with whom he sought fo^r, & likewise caused him to haue inhabited there: but he excused himself, alledging y^e he had lost his ankers, & was therfoze forced of necessitie to returne.

And as soone as Olid was departed on that voyage, Pedro de Aluarado returned to Cuba, with full relation of the discouerie, & brought many things to him, wrought in gold, with strange coloured feathers, and cotten woll. The gouerno^r Iames Valasques reioiced much to behold those principles: And all the Spaniards of Cuba wondered thereat, & likewise to heare the whole relation of the iourney. Yet the gouernour feared the returne of his kinsmen, because some of his companie that came sicke and diseased from those parties, saide that Grijalua meant not to inhabite there, and that the people and land was great, and also how the same people were warlike: likewise the gouernour feared the wisdom and courage

courage of his kinsman. Whereuppon he determined to send thither certaine shippes, with sculdiers and armour and other trifling things, thinking chiefly to enrich himself by barter, and also to inhabite by force. He requested one Baltazer Vermudez to take that voyage in hand, who accepted the offer, but he demaunded thre thousand duc-kets for his furniture and provision. Their gouvernour hearing this demaund, answered, that in suche sorte the charges would be moze then the profite: And so for that time leste off that matter, because he was covetous, and loth to spend, thinking to provide an army at other mens cost, as he had done befoze, when Grijalua went first on that voyage, for at that time one Fráncisco de Montezodid furnish one shippe. And also certaine gentlemen called Alaunso Fernandez, Porto Carero, Alaunso de Auila, and Iames de Ordas, with many others, went with Grijalua at their proper costes and charges. It followed that the gouernour bzake the matter to Cortez, and required that the voyage should be set forth betwixt them, knowing that Cortez had two thousande Castlins of golde in the power of one Andres de Duero, a merchant, and also that Cortez was a man diligent, wise, and of stout courage. Cortez being of haughtie stomacke, accepted both the voyage and the charges, thinking the cost would not be much, &c. So that the voyage and agrément was concluded, wher-upon they sent one Iohn de Sanzedo to the kings counsell and chauncery, resident in the Iland of Santo Domingo, (who were then religious persons) to haue and obtain of them licence, frély to goe and traffike into those parties of newe discovery, and also to seeke for Iohn de Grijalua, for they imagined that without him small trafficke would be hadde, whiche was, to exchange trifles of Haberdashe for golde and siluer.

The chiefe Rulers of gouernement at that tyme

D

in

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in the kings counsell there, were these following, Segnior Alounso de Santo Domingo, Segnior Luys de Figueroa, and Segnior Barnardo de Munfanedo, who graunted the licence, and appointed Hernando Cortez for capitaine Generall of the voyage, and setter forth in company of James Velasques. They also appointed a Treasurer, and Surueyour, to procure for the kinges portion or parte, which was according to custome one fiftie part. In this meane season Cortez prepared himselfe for the Journey, and communed with his especiall friends to see who would beare him company: And hee founde thre hundred men that agreed to his request. Hee then bought a Caruell and Bergantine, and another Caruell that Pedro de Aluarado brought home. An other Bergantine hee had of James Velasques: he prouided for them armour, artillery, and other munition: he brought also wyne, Oyle, Beanes, Pease, and other vittailles necessary: hee toke by also vpon his credite, of one James Sauzedo muche Haberdashe, to the value of seuen hundred Castlyns in golde. The Governour Velasques deliuered vnto him a thousande Castlyns whiche hee possessed of the goods of one Pamfilo de Naruaiz in his absence, alleaging that he had no other money of his owne proper. And being in this manner agreed, the Articles and Couenants were drawne and set downe in wyting, before a Notary, called Alounso de Oscalantes, the thre and twentie day of October, 1518.

The coming home
of Grijalua.

In this meane time arrined at Cuba, Iohn de Grijalua, vpon whose arriuall, the Governour chaunged his purpose and pretence, for he refused to disburse any more money, nor yet would consent that Cortez should furnish his paue. For the onely cause was, that he ment to dispatch backe againe his kinsleman and his army. But to beholde the stout courage of Cortez, his charges, and liberallitie

The gouernour
an old
enemy.

berallitie in expences, it was straunge, and to see how hee
was deceiued. And also to consider, the flatterie and deceite
of his aduersarie, yea what complaints were made to the
Lord Admiral, saying that Cortez was subtil, high min-
ded, and a louer of honoz, which were tokens that he wold
rebel, being in place conuenient, and that he woulde re-
uenge old griefes. Also it griued Vermudez that he had
not excepted the voyage, vnto whō it was once offered, se-
ing the great treasure that Grijalua had brought, and what
a rich land the countrey newly discovered was. Also he
pretended that the gouernoꝝ wold be chieftain of h fleet,
although his kinselman were not fit foꝝ h rōme. The go-
uernoꝝ also thought that he being slack, Cortez wold al-
so be slack. But yet he seeing Cortez earnestly proceed, he
sent one Amador de Larez a principal man, to intreat him
to leaue off h voyage (considering h Grijalua was returned)
and h he wold pay him al the costs & charges that he had
layd out. Cortez vnderstanding the gouernoꝝs mind, made
answer vnto Larez, that he wold not leaue of the Jorney
foꝝ very shame, noꝝ yet breake the agrēment made. And
also if Velasques wold send a Paue foꝝ his own accout,
he wold be contente, foꝝ (quoth hee) I haue already my
licence and dispatch of the fathers & gouernours. And the
he conferred with his friends, to knowe their mindes if
that they wold fauour and beare him company, at whose
handes he found both ready healpe and friendship. Hee
sought then foꝝ money, and tooke vp vpon his credit foure
50. Castlins in gold, of his friend Andreas de Duero, & of
Pedro de Xerez & others. With h which money he bought
two ships, 6. hozses, and much apparrel, and begun to fur-
nish a house, & keep a good table foꝝ comers & goers: he wēt
also armed like a captaine, and many waiting & attending
vpon him, wherāt diuerse murmured, saying that he was
a Lord without rente. In this meane while came

Courage of
Cortez

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Grijalua to the Cittie of Sainte Iames de Cuba : but his kinsman the Gouvernour woulde not looke vppon him because hee had left and forsaken so riche a lande. Also it graced him inwardly that Cortez proceeded thitherward so strong and mightie, and coulde by no meanes disturbe or let him, and to see the great traine that waited vpon him, with many of them that had bene the other voyage with Grijalua : yea if that hee should disturbe him, bloodshed would follow in the Cittie. So that he was forced to dissemble his sorrow. Yet (as many affirme) hee commaunded that hee should haue no victualls solde vnto him. Now Cortez departed from thence, proclaiming himselfe for Generall, and that the Gouvernour Velasques had nothing to do with his Paue, requesting his souldiers to embarque themselues with such victualls as they had. He also bargained with one Fernando Alfonso, for certaine Hogges and Sharpe that were prepared for the Hambles, and gaue vnto him a chayne of golde and brouches for payment, and also money, to paye the penaltie that the Butcher fell into for not prouiding the Cittie. And so he departed from Saint Iames de Baracoa, the eighteenth of Nouember, with about three hundred Spaniards in five shippes.

The Naue and men that Cortez carried with him to the Conquest.



Cortez departed from Saint Iames de Baracoa, with small prouision of victualls for such a number of men, and also for the Nauigation whiche as yet was vncertaine. And being out of that parte, hee sente Pedro Xuarez

Xuarez Gallinato, with a Caruel to Iaymaica for bittails, commaunding him, that these thinges which hee should there buy, to goe there with to Cape de Corientes, or to S. Anthonies pointe, whiche is the farthest parte of that Iland Westward. And he himselfe went with his companie to Macaca, and bought there great quantitie of bzead, and some Hogges, of one Taymaio. Then he proceeded to the Trinitie Ilande, and there bought an other Shippe of one Alonso Guillen. And of particular persons he bought thre Horses, and five hundred bushels of Cozne. And being there at roade, he had aduice, that Iohn Nonez Sedenio passed that way with a Ship laden with bittails, for to make sale thereof at the Pines. Whereupon he sent James de Ordas, with a Caruell well armed, for to take him, and to bring him vnto S. Anthonies point. Ordas went and toke him at the Chanel de Iardines, and brought him to the place appointed. Sedenio brought the register of his marchandice, which was great store of bzead, Bacon, and Pennes. Cortez gaue him chaines of gold, and other peeces for payment, and a bill for the rest. In consideration whereof, Sedenio went with him to the Conquest. In the Trinitie Iland Cortez gathered together two hundred men more, who had bin in Grijalua his companie, and were dwellers in that Iland, and in Matancas, Carenias, and other Villages, and sending his ships forward, he went with his men by land to Hauana, which was then inhabited on the South side in the mouth of the river called Onicaxinall, but there they would sell him no provision, for feare of the Gouernor Velasques. But yet one Christopher Gallada, rent gatherer to the Bishop, and receyuer for the Popes Bulles, solde to him great store of Bacon and bzead of that Countrey called Maiz, and other provision, whereby his fleet was reasonably provided, &c. And then he began to distribute his men and

The Conquest of

vittailles aboord ech vessell in good order. Then came Aluaro de Aranda with his caruell, with his other friends Christopher de Olid, Alonso de Auila, Francisco de Monteio, & many others of Grijalua his companie, who had bin to talke with the Governour Velasques. And among them came one Garmica, so called, with letters for Cortez from Velasques, in wherein he wrote, desiring him to abide there, for that he meant to come himselfe, or els to send vnto him, to treat of matters profitable for them both.

A snare layd
for Cortez.

Also the said gouernour sent other secret letters to James de Ordas, and others, requiring them to apprehend & take prisoner Cortez. Now Ordas did inuite Cortez to a banquet aboord his Caruell, thinking by that meanes to catch Cortez in a snare, and so to carry him prisoner to the citie of Saint Iames de Barocoa. But Cortez vnderstood this matter, and fained himselfe to be very sicke, and also fearing some vpproze, he went aboord his ship Admirall, and shot off a peece of Ordnance, giuing warning to his nauie to be in a readinesse to make saile, and to follow him to saint Anthonies point, which was don with expedition, & there in the Towne of Guani Guaniga, he mustred his men, and found five hundred and fiftie Spaniards, whereof fiftie were mariners. He diuided them into eleuen companies, and appointed these persons following for captaines, that is to say, Alonso de Auila, Alonso Fernandez Porto Carrero, James de Ordas, Francisco de Monteio, Francisco de Morla, Francisco de Salzedo, Iohn de Escalante, Iohn Velasques de Leon, Christopher de Olid, and one Escouar, and he himselfe as Generall tooke one companie. He made these manie Captaines, because his whole flete was eleuen saile, and that each of them should generallly be Captaine, both of Shippe and men. He also appointed for chiefe Pilote Anthonio de Alaminas, who had taken charge befoze with Francisco de Hernandez

nandez de Cordoua, and Grijalua, &c. He caried also 200.
 Indians, boyne in the Ile of Cuba, to serue and to cary bag-
 gage, & also certain Negros, with some Indian womē, and
 Griene horses and Mares, with great prouision of bacon,
 cozne, bisket, hennes, wine, oyle, pease, and other fruits,
 with great stoze of Haberdash, as bels, necklaces, beades
 of glasse, collers, points, pinnes, purses, néedels, girdels,
 thzed, knives, fillers, pinfers, hammers, hatchets, Shirts,
 Coyfes, headkirchiefs, handkirchiefs, bñches, coates,
 clokes, caps, Harriners bñches. All the which marchā-
 dise he diuided among his nauie. The ship admirall was
 of the burthen of a hundred Tunnes. Other threē ships
 of the burthen of eighty Tunnes the peece. All the residue
 were small without ouerloppe, and bergantines. The
 deuise of this ensigne oꝝ auncient, was flames of fire in
 white and blew, with a red croſſe in the midst, and
 boꝝdzed round with letters, in the Latine and Spaniſh
 tonges, which signified this in effect: friends, let vs follow
 the Croſſe, and with liuely faith with this Standard weē
 shall obtaine victorie. The premises (as ye haue heard)
 was the furniture that Cortes prouided foꝝ his iourney,
 and with so small a thing hē conquered so great and
 mighty an Empire, and strange countreys vnknowne at
 that time. There was neuer captaine that did with like
 army ouercome so infinit a people, & bzing both them and
 their country vnder subiection. He caried no mony to pay
 his souldiers, but was rather much indebted to others at
 his departure. And to say the truth, there needed any mo-
 ny to make pay to those souldiours that went to the Con-
 quest, foꝝ if they should haue serued foꝝ wages, they wold
 haue gone to other places nēre hand. But in India, euery
 one pretēdeth hē state of a noble man, oꝝ else great riches.
 Now all the fleet being in readinesse (as ye haue heard,)
 Cortez began an exhortation to his company as foloweth.

The

The Conquest of

The Oration that Cortez made to
his Souldiers.



M louing fellowes, and deere friends, it is certaine that euerie valiant man of stout courage, doth procure by deedes to make him selfe equall with the excellent men of his time, yea, and with those that were befoze his time. So it is, that I doe now take in hand such an enterprize, as God willing shall be hereafter of great fame, for mine heart doth prognosticate vnto me, that we shall win great and rich countries, and manie people, as yet neuer seene to any of our Nation, yea, and (I beleue) greater Kingdomes then those of our Kings. And I assure you, that the desire of glorie doth further extend, then treasure, the which in sort, moztall life doth obtaine. I haue nows prepared Shippes, armour, horses, and other furniture for the warres, with vittaille sufficient, and all things that are vsed as necessarie in Conquests. I haue bene at great costs and charges, wherein I haue not onely employed mine owne goodes, but also the goodes of my friends, yet me thinketh that the employment thereof doth encrease my treasure and honour. We ought (louing fellowes) to leaue off small things, when great matters doe offer themselues. And euen as my trust is in God, euen so greater profite shall come to our kings, & a nation of this our enterprize, then hath heretofore of any other. I doe not speake how acceptable it will be to God our Saviour, for whose loue I do chiefly and willingly hazard my goods and trauell. I will not new treatate of the perils and danger of life that I haue passed since I began this voyage. This I say, that good men doe rather expect renoune, then treasure. We doe now attempt and begin warre that is both good and iust,

the west India.

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lust, and the almightie God in whose name and holy faith this voyage is begunne, will assuredly graunte vnto vs victorie, and the time will shew the end of things well begunne. Therfore we will now haue an other manner in our proceedings, than either Cordoua or Grijalua hadde, whereof I meane not now to dispute, for the presente time doth hasten vs away, but at our arrivall, we will do what shall seeme vnto vs conuenient. Here deere friends so I lay before you great gaynes, but wrapped in greate trauell, yet Vertue is an enimie to idlenesse. &c. Therfore if you will accept hope for Vertue, or Vertue for hope, and also if ye forsake me not, as I will not forsake you, I will with Gods help make you in thoste time the richest men that euer passed this way. I doe see you are but fewe in number, but yet such men of haughtie courage, that no force or strength of Indians can offende. Likewise wee haue experience, that Christ our sauour hath alwayes fauoured our nation in these parties. Therfore my deere friends, let vs now in Gods name depart ioyfull, expecting good successe, according to our beginning. &c.

The entrance of Cortez into the Iland of Acusamill.



With the aforesaid communication, Cortez gaue great hope to his company of weightie matters, yea & great admiration of his person, so that all his company had an earnest desire to proceede on that iorney. And Cortez likewise reioyced, to see his men so willing: and incontinente, they embarqued them

selues, and after their prayers made vnto God, hoysed vp their sailes, and with faire winde departed the eighteenth day of february. Anno 1519. And being at Sea, he willed all his nauie (as the vse is) to haue St. Peter for
C. their

The Conquest of

their patrones; warning them alwaies to follow the Admirall (wherin he went) because he carried a light for the night season to guide them the way, whiche was almost East and West from S. Anthonies point, being the nerrest part of Cuba to Cape de Cotoche, which is the first land point of Yucatan, whither they were bound, so that being there, they might run along the coast, betwene the North point and the West. The first night y^e Hernando Cortez, began to passe ouer the gulse betwene Cuba and Yucatan, being little aboue 12. leagues, the winde rose vp at North east with much force, so that all the flete were separated without sight y^e one of the other: yet by the accompt that their Pilots kept, they arrived all sauing one at the Island of Acusamil, although not at one time, and those that last arrived, were the Admirall, and Captaine Morla his Ship, who had lost his Kuther, but by shooting off a peece, Cortez vnderstode his necessitie, and came veying to him, and armed his sailes to succour him, being in y^e night season. Yet when the day appeared, it pleased God that the rage of the tempest ceased, & being clere day, they found agayne their Kuther, and trunmed the Ship, and made sayle, and sayled that day and the next following, without sight of land, or any of the flete. But the thirt day they arrived at a cape or point of land, called Womens cape. Cortez commanded Morla to follow him, directing his course to take the residue of his flete, and arrived in this sorte at the Island of Acusamil, and there found all his nanie excepte one, whereof they heard no newes in many dayes after. The people of that Islande beholding suche a strange sight, were in great feare and admiration, so that they gathered their stufte and wente vp into the Mountaines. Cortez caused a certaine number of his men to goe a land to a Towne which was nere the place where they were arrived, and they sold the solumie brought with Spasens worke, and good building, but they founde no creature therein.

The feare of
the Indians of
Acusamil.

thereln, yet in some houses they found cloth made of cotton wool, and certain iewels of gold. Also they entred into a high tower made of stone worke, neare the sea side, and there they founde nothing but Idolls of earth and stone. With this newes they returned to Cortez, and enformed him what they had seene, and also many faire sowen fl. los. of Maiz, and great store of hives of Bees, and many trees of frutes, and also presented vnto him the gold and other things that they had found. Cortez reioyced with y^e newes, but yet marvelled that the people were fled, considering that when Grijalua was there, they had not so done, where by he iudged, that his nauie being greater, caused them to feare and fle, and likewise he feared least a snare were prepared for him. Then he commanded to vnskip his ho^{rs}, les for th^{re} cause: the one to discover the Countrey, and the other to fight if need were: and also to graze them, hauing there abundance. Also he vnshipped his men of war, and sent them to discover the land. And in the thickest of the Mountaines, they found foure women, and th^{re} child^{re}, whom they brought to Cortez, so that not vnderstanding their language, by signes and tokens they imagined that one of them was the mother to y^e child^{re}, & mistresse to the other women. The po^{re} creatures bewayled their captiuitie. Cortez made much of them, and apparelled the mistresse as wel as he might with Spanish attire: and to his seruants he gaue looking glasse and siffers: and to the little children others toys to play withall, v^{bi}ng no dishon^{re} towards them. And then he determined to send one of the wenches to call her maister, & to enforme him how well they were intreated. In this meane season came certaine spies lurking a far off, by the commandement of their Lord, who was called Calachuni, to bring newes of his wife, and what else passed. Cortez receiued them gently, & gaue vnto them certaine trifles, & sent others to their Lord, & returned them wth embassage on his behalfe & his

How the people were found.

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wiues, to desire him to come vnto him, and to see those folke from whome he had fledde, promising, that neyther his person, nor none of his countrey should receyue any molestation of him, nor of any of his company. Calachuni vnderstanding this friendshippe, and also with the loue he bare to his wife and childre, came the next day following with all the Townsemen, in whose houses the Spanyards were lodged, who woulde not permitte that their guestes should giue place. And the Lord commaunded, that they should be wel entertained, and fro that day forthward provided them of bread, fish, honney, & fruite. Calachuni spake and saluted Cortez with greate humilitie and ceremonie, and euen so was he louingly receyued, & wel entertained. Cortez did then declare vnto him by the commoditie that would ensue vnto him by that nation. And also presented vnto him & his company many toys, which were vnto them of small valewe, but muche esteemed among them, yea moze then golde. And mozeouer Cortez commaunded, that all the golde and other things that his men had taken in the Towne, shoulde be broughte befoze him, and placed it so that euery Indian knewe his owne, and was restozed vnto them, whereat they were not a little ioyfull, wondering at the liberalitie of the straungers, and departed both merrie and riche with their straunge giftes, and went thzoughout al the Island, shewing to their fellows their presentes, commaunding them in the name of Calachuni their Lord, to returne euery man to his house, with their wiues and children, commending highly the honest and gentle nature of the straungers. With this newes and commaundemente, euery man returned to his house and Towne from whence he had fledde. And after this sort their feare was past, and they provided the Camp abundantly of honey, bread, ware, fische, and frute, all the time that they abode in that Island.

A faine
wor-
thy of praise.

The

the west India.

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The Indians of Acufamil gaue newes to Cortez
of certaine bearded men.



When Cortez seeing these Indians quiet
and wel pleased, and also very seruice-
able, he did determine to take away
their Idols, & to giue them a remem-
brance of Iesus Chrift, bozne of the
virgin Mary, by one Melchior a fither
man, & very rustical, who had bin ther
befoze with Francisco Hernandez de

Cordoua, who declared vnto the, that Cortez his lord and
captaine would enforme them of a better God, and better
lawes, the those which they maintained. The Indians an-
swered, that they were contented therewith, and went
with them vnto their temples, and there brake downe
their Idols, and celebrated diuine seruice, teaching them
to adoze and worshop Chrift crucified, so that they were
very attentiu to the doctrine, and ceased sacrifice of men
which they were wont to vse. These Indians did wonder
much at the ships and hozles, yea, and maruelled as much
at our colour and beards, so that many times they would
come and seele them, and signified vnto them by signes
and tokens towarde Yucatan, that there were five or six
bearded men. When Cortez considering how profitable it
would be to haue an interpreter, to vnderstand and to bee
vnderstood, he besought Calachuni that he would appoint
a messenger to carrie a letter to the bearded men, who
were in the power of a great Lord and Tyrant, and Ca-
lachuni found none that durst take that iourney in hand,
fearing that they should be slaine and eaten. Cortez seeing
this, entreated with faire wordes, thze of the Indians that
serued him to accept the iourney, and gaue them rewards
for their labour: yet the Indians excused them, saying that

Newes of
bearded men.

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they should be slayne, notwithstanding with faier promises and rewardes, they accepted the voyage, so that Cortez wrote with them this letter following.

Withoutful sirs, I departed from Cuba with eleven saile in my flote, furnished with fine hundred and fiftie Spaniardes, & I am here at Acusamil from whence I write you this letter. The people of this Island haue certified me, that there is in that countrey fine or six bearded men, and in all points like vnto vs: they cannot here enforme me of anye other signes or tokens, but hereby I do coniecture, and certainly beleue, that ye be Spaniardes. Both I and these gentlemen of my company do come to discouer and inhabite this land, we hartly pray you, that within sixe dayes after the receit hercof, ye come vnto vs, without any excuse or delay, and if ye so doe, at we of this partie wil gratifie your gentlenesse and good seruice that ye shall do vnto vs. I do send you a Bergantine wherein you may come, and two shippes for your last conduct.

Hernando Cortes.

This letter being written, there was found an inconvenience, which was, they knew not how to carrie the letter so secretly yf it might not be sene, and they take for spies, wher of the saide Indians stood in greate feare. The Cortez bethoght him, yf the letter would passe wrapped in the haire of the head of one of the, for ordinarily the Indians wear long haire, & on their solemn feasts & in wars they bide their haire platted and bound about their foreheades. And he appointed captaine of the Bergantine wherin the messengers went, Iohn de Escalante, & Iames de O. das for captaine of the other two ships, with fiftie men if any more should happen. So shortly after the ships arriued at the place appointed. Escalante set a land his messengers, and abode there eight dayes they retorne, although he promised them to abide there but sixe dayes. And the saring that

they

the vvest India.

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they came not, he surmised that they were either slaine or taken captiues: and so returned backe againe to Acusamil without his messengers, wherof al the army were sorrowful, & chiefly Cortez, thinking that the Indians had wrong informed him. Now in this mean season they trimmed their shippes of the hurt receiued by the late tempest, and at the returne of the two ships and Morgantine, they hoysed by sayles and departed.

A miraculous chance. how Geronimo de

Aguilao came to Cortez.



Alachuni and all his subjects were full of heavines (as it seemed) with the departure of the Christians, because they were well used at their hands. From Acusamil the flecte sayled to get the coast of Yucatan to the cape called Molmens point, with pro-

sporous weather, and there Cortez came to an anchor, desirous to see the disposition of the land, and the manner of the people: but it liked him not, so that the next day following being thronetuesday, he departed, meaning to double the late Cape, and so to passe to Cotoche, and to viclewe it. But before they had doubled the point, Peter de Aluarado shotte off a peece, in token that he was in great perill, whereupon the other Shippes drew neare. to knowe what had happened: And when Cortez vnderstood that Aluarados shippe was in so great a leake that with two pumpes they might not emptie the water, he found no other remedy but to returne backe againe to Acusamil with al his flect. The Indians of the Island came incontinent to the water side very ioyfull, and to knowe whether they had left any thing behind them. The Christians informed the of their mishap, and came a shore, & in short time found the leake and amended it. The later day following they toke shipping againe, all the army except Hernando

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Hernando Cortez, and fiftie of his cōpanie, then the wind arose contrarie, and so much, that they could not depart that day: and the furie of the wind endured all that night, but in the morning it wared calme, so that they might proceede on their voyage. But for as much as that was the Sabbath day, they determined to heare diuine seruice, and after dinner to make saile. When their seruice was ended, and Cortez sitting at his meate, there was newes brought him that a little vessell called a Canoa, came vnder saile towarde the shippes, which seemed to come from Yucatan: with that newes Cortez arose from his meate, to behold whether the Canoa went, and perceiving that she left the way towarde the shippes, hee sent Andrew de Tapia with certaine others, as secret & closely as might bee deuised, to lye in ambush for their coming a shoare. The Canoa arriued in a calme place, out of the which came foure men all naked, except their priuite members, and the haire of their heades platted and bounde about their foreheades like vnto women, with bowes and arrowes in their hands: three of them which were Indians, were afraid when they saw the Spaniards with their drawen swordes, and would haue fled againe to their Canoa, but the Chyistian feared not, and desired his fellows in the Indian tongue to abide with him. And then he beganne to speake in the Spanishe tongue in this wise: Masters are ye Chyistians, yea (quoth they) and of the Spanishe nation. When he reioyced so much, that the teares fell from his eyes, and demaunded of them what day it was, although he had a Primer wherein hee daily prayed.

He then besought them earnestly to assist him with their prayers and thansgiuing vnto God for his deliuey, and kneeling deuoutly downe vpon his knees, holding vp his handes, his eyes toward heauen, and his face bathed with

with teares, made his humble praier vnto God, giuing most hartie thankes, that it hadde pleased him to deliuer him out of the power of Infidels and infernall creatures, and to place him among Christians and men of his owne nation. Andrew de Tapia holpe him vnto, and tooke him in his armes, & so didal the others embrace and louingly salute him. Then he commaunded the other three Indians to follow him, and went talking with his friendes, where Cortez aboade, who receiued him ioyfully, and gaue vnto him such apparrel as he needed, and with greate pleasure hauing him in his companie, hee demaunded the estate of his misfortune, and what was his name, who answered befoze them all, saying, Sir my name is Geromino de Aguilar, I was bozne in the Citie of Esija in the Andolozia, and by misfortune I was lost after this sorte. In the warres of Darien and in the time of the contentions and passions of Iames de Nicuesa, and Vasco Nonez Balboa, I came with Captaine Valdinia in a little Caruell, toward Santo Domingo, to giue aduice to the Admirall and gouernour, of the troubles which had happened, and my coming was for men and victuals: and likewise we brought twenty thousand Duckettes of the kinges in Anno. 1511. And when we appoynted at Iamayca, our Caruel was lost on the shoales, whiche were called the Cipars, and with greate pain we entred (about twenty persons) into the boate, without sayle, water or bread, and weake prouision of oares: we thus wander thirtene or fourtene dayes, and then the currant, which is there very great & runneth alway wastward, cast vs a shoare in a prouince called Maija, & traueilling on our way, seauen of our fellowes died with hunger and famin. And captain Valdinia & other 4. were sacrificed to the ydols by a cruel and cursed Cacike, that is to say, a Lord in whose power we fell, &c.

The coming
of Aguilar
to Cortez.

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And

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And after the sacrifice, they were eaten among the Indians for a solemne banquet; and I, & other six were put into a Cage or coupe, to be satined for an other sacrifice. And for to escape such abhominable death, we brake the prison and fled thzough certaine mountaines: so that it pleased God that we met with another Cazike, who was enemie to him that first tooke vs, his name was Quinqu, a man of moze reason and better condition, he was lord of Xamanfana: he accepted vs for his captiues, but shortly after he died, and then I aboad with Taxmar his heire. Then deceased other fīue of our fellowes, so that there remained but onely I, & one Gonfalo Guerrer, a mariner, who now abideth with Nachancan the lord of Chetemal, and he married with a rich gentle woman of that countrey, by whom he hath childzen, and is made a captaine, and well esteemed with the Cazike for the victozies that he hath had in the wars against the other lords. I sent vnto him your woꝝships letter, desiring him that he would come with me hauing so fit a passage, but he refused my request, I beleue for very shame, because he had his nose full boared of holes, and his ears tagged, his face and hands painted according to the vse of the country, or else he abode there for the loue he bare to his wife and childzen. All those which God by and heard his hyffozzy, were amazed, to heare Gerónimo de Aguilar report how those Indians did sacrifice and eate mans fieshe. They also lamented the miserie and death of his fellowes, & highly prayesed God, to see him free frō his bondage, and from such cruell and barbarous people, and to haue likewise so good an enterprizer with them, for vndoubtedly it seemed a miracle, that Aluarcados ship fel into a leak, for with that extremittie they returned back againe to that Island, whereas with contrary winde they were constrained to abide the comming of Aguilar. And certainly he was the meane and speech of all their proceedings.

the west India.

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proceedings. And therfore haue I bin so p[ro]lixious in the rehearfall of this matter, as a notable point of this historie. Also I wil not let to tel how the mother of Geronimo de Aguilar, became mad, &c.

When she heard that her son was captiue amōg people that vsed to eat mans flesh, & euer after when she saw any flesh spitted or roasted, she would make an open outcrie, saying, oh I miserable woman, behold this is the flesh of my dearely beloued son, who was all my comfort.

The Iland of Acusamil.



The Indians naturall of that countrey doe call their Iland Acusamil, and corruptly Cosumil. John de Grijalua was the first Spaniard that appozted ther, and named it the holy Rode, because he fell in sight thereof on holie Rode day. It containeth ten leagues in length, and thre leagues in breadth,

although some say more, some lesse: it standeth 11. degrees on this side the equator, & five leagues from the womens cape: it hath thre vilages, in the which liueth nere 3000. men. The houses are of stone and brick, and couered with straw & bowes, and some wth tile. Their temples and towres are made of lime and stone very well built: they haue no other fresh water but out of wels & rain water. Calachuni is their chiefe lord: they are browne people, and go naked: and if any weare cloth, it is made of cotten wool only to couer their priuy members: they vse long haire, platted and bound about their foreheads: they are great fishermen, so that fish is their chieffest food and sustenance, they haue also Maiz which is soz bread: also good fruits and hony, but somewhat soure: and plots soz bees, which containe 1000. hives. They know not to what vse way serued, but when they saw our me make cades therof, they woozed therast

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Their dogges haue fore faces and barke not, these they gelbe and fatten to eate. This Iland is ful of high mountaines, and at y^e ferte of them, good pastures, many Deare, and wilde Boares, Connyes and Hares, but they are not great. The Spaniardes with their hand guns and crossebowes prouide them of that victual, fresh, salt, and dried. The people of this Iland are Idolaters, they doe sacrifice childzen, but not manye. And manye times in stead of childzen they sacrifice dogges. They are poze people, but very charitable and louing in their false religion and beliefe.

The religion of the people of Acufamil.



A strange
Idol.

The temple is like vnto a square Tobze broad at the fote, and steps round about it, and from y^e middest vpwrd very straight: the top is hollow and couered with straw: it hath foure windowes with frontales and galleries. In the hollow place is their chappel, whereas their Idols do stand. The temple that stode by the sea side was such a one, in the which was a maruellous strange Idoll, and differed muche from all the rest, although they haue manye and of diuerse fashions. The bodie of this Idoll, was greate and hollow, and was fastened in that wall with lime: hee was of earth. And behinde this Idols backe was the Velterie, where was kept ornaments & other things of service for the temple. The priests had a little secret doze hard adioyning to the Idoll, by which doze they crept into y^e holiow Idoll, and answered the people y^e came with prayers & petitions. And with this deceit y^e simple soules beleued al y^e the idoll spake, and honored y^e god moze the al y^e rest, w^{ch} manye perfumes &
swete

swete smelles, and offered bread and fruite, with sacrifice of Quails bloud, and other birds, and dogges, and sometimes mans bloud. And through the same of this Idoll and Oracle, many Pilgrimes came to Acusamil from many places. At the fote of this Temple was a plotte like a Churchyard, well walled and garnished with proper pinacles, in the middell whereof stode a Crosse of ten fote long, the which they adozed for God of the rayne, for at all times when they wanted rayne, they would goe thither on Procession deuoutely, and offered to the Crosse Quails sacrificed, for to appease the wrath that the God seemed to haue against them: and none was so acceptable a sacrifice, as the bloud of that little birde. They vsed to burne certaine swete gumme, to perfume that god withall, and to besprinkle it with water, and this done, they beleaued assuredly to haue raine. Such is the Religion of those Indians of Acusamil. They could neuer knowe the original how that god of Crosse came amongst them, for in all those parties of India, there is no memoize of any Preaching of the Gospell that had bene at any time, as shall be shewed in another place.

The God
of raine.

The Battell and winning of
Potonchan.



Ortez proceeded with his flete very ioyfull, because he had found one of his ships which he thought had bene lost, and apoynted at the riuer de Grijalua, which in the Indian tongue is called Tauasco, & anchored at the riuers mouth, fearing to enter in with the bigger vessels ouer the barre: and incontinent came many Indians to gaze at them & their ships, who were armed with feathers,

The Conquest of

thers, and such like armor as they vse, seeming a farre off trim fellows. They wondred not much to see our shippes and men, because they had sene before Iohn de Grijalua in the same Riuer. The behauiour of that people, and situation of the Countrey, liked Cortez very well, so that leauing sufficient garde in his shippes, he manned his Tergantines and Boates, and carried with him certaine pieces of Ordnance, and with force of Dares he entered the Riuer against the streame, which was very great, and hauing rowen little more then halfe a league, they espied a greate Towne walled with Timber, and the houses made of mudwall, couered with strawe. The Townewall was verie strong, with loope holes to offende with all. And before oure menne came neare the Towne, they mette with manye little Boates, whiche the Indians call Tahucup, full of armed menne, the wyng themselves dangerous of battaile. Cortez proceeded forwarde, and made vnto them signes of peace, declaring vnto them by his enterpreter, that his coming thither was not to molest or disquiet them, but onely to take freshe water, and to buy victuals, as menne that trauelled by Sea, and stode in neede thereof, promising good paymente for anye thing that they shoulde take. The Indians hearyng their request, promised to shewe their message to the Townesmen, and woulde also returne with theyr aunswere and vittayles, and so departed. In short space they returned againe, and brought bread and fruite, and eyght Turkie Cockes, and presented it franckely vnto them. Cortez gaue them thankses, but (quoth he) the provision that ye haue brought, is very little, for y^e neede that I and so many persons which I haue within yonder great vessels locked and shutte by, therefore I pray you to bring me more vittayles, or else to permitte and suffer mee and my folkes to come vnto youre Towne to seeke oure remedie.

remedie.

The Indians demanded one nyghtes space to doe the one and the other, and departed toward the towne. Cortez also went to a little Iland that standeth in the river, to abide their answer, so that each pretended to deceiue the other, for the Indians demanded that time, to the intent to carrye that night away their goddes, and to put in safetie their wiues and children in the Spoun-
tagnes, and likewise to gather their men of warre to be-
sende their Towne. Cortez also commaunded his Har-
gabushiers and Crossebowmen to goe a lande vppon the
Ilande, and caused the River vppwardes to be soughte
for way, to wade ouer, so that these things were done
that nyghte without anye knowledge to the contrarye
side. And all those whiche aboode abaynde the Shippes,
came vnto Cortez, and those who wente to seeke the pas-
sage, founde within lesse then halfe a league vppwardes,
a place that was of depth to the girdle of a manne. And
likewise, founde suche couerte of woddess, that they
myghte come nere vnto the Towne, and not to be
sene.

Diligence of a
good Cap-
taine.

Thys newes liked well Cortes, wherevppon he ap-
pointed two Captaines, whose names were Alonso de
Auila, and Peter de Aluorado, and to each of them fif-
tie menne. The same nyghte hee sente certaine Sould-
yers with a sea compasse, to lie in an ambushe in the
woddess whiche stode betwene the river and the towne,
for two considerations. The one, because the Indians
shoulde see, that there were no more Spanyardes in
the Ilande, then were the daye before. And the other
was, that hys menne hearing their watchword, shoulde
assaulte the towne on the land side. And as soone as the
day appeared, came eight boates of Indians armed, wher-
as oure Campe was pitched, who broughte a little

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vittaille, saying they could get no more, because that the inhabitants of the Towne were fledde, with feare of them, and their deformed vessels, desiring them to returne aboard their Shippes, and not to disquiet the people of that Countrey. The interpreter answered, that it was against humanitie to suffer them to perish with hunger, yea, and if they would heare the cause of their coming they should shortly see what profite would rebound vnto them. The Indians replied, that they would take no counsell of straungers, and men whome they knew not. Likewise, they thought not good to lodge such guests in their houses, for they seemed terrible, and such as would be commanders. But if they would needs haue water, they might take river water, or else make welles on the shoze, for so did they at their neede.

Then Cortez seeing that wordes preuailed not, he signified vnto them that he would enter their Towne by force, to take it and their Countrey, for to giue thereof relation to the greatest prince in the world, who had sent them thither: requesting them to be therewith contented, considering he ment not to disquiet them: and if they would not permit the same, he would commend himselfe to his God, and to the strength and force of his men. The Indians answered againe, that they should depart, and not thus bragge in other mens land, for in no wise they would permitte them to enter their Towne. And if with this warning they would not depart, they meant to kill both him, and as many as were with him. Yet Cortez ceased not to vse all humanitie with those barbarous people, according to the commaundement and instructions giuen vnto him by the King of Castill, which was, to require those people oftentimes with peace, before the attempting of warre, or entering perforce into their Townes and Countrey, so that yet a
gaine

the west India.

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gayne he consulted them with peace, promising them libertie with good entertainement, assuring them of things profitable both for body and soule, and that they myght accompt themselves happie with the knowledge thereof: but if now they would refuse his offer, he did then warne them to make them ready for the evening, for befoze the going downe of the Sunne, he did hope with the help of his God, to rest and take vp his lodging in the Towne, in despite of all the inhabitants thereof, who had refused his offer.

The Indians laughed at his talke, and skorning at him, they returned to the Towne, to enforme their fellows of the pride and madnesse that they thought they hadde heard. When the Spanyardes went to dinner, and hauing well refreshed themselves, they putte on their Armour, and went aboarde their Boates and Wergantines, looking for some aunswere from the Indians, and seeing the Sunne decline apace, and no aunswere, Cortez aduised the Spanyardes that lay in ambush in the woodde, to giue assault, and he imbarqued himselfe with his rapier and Targette, gyuing likewise assaulte with nere two hundred men, who comming nere the Towne walles, discharged his Ordnance, and lept into the water to the knees, and began valiantly to assault the walles and bulwarkes. The Indians seeing their enimies so nigh vnto them, beganne to fight with courage, shooting arrowes, throwing of dartes and stones, wherewith they hurte aboute twenty Spanyardes: yea, and though the fearefull noyse of the Ordnance did many times so annoy them, being things so straunge, and neuer befoze scene of them, yet they fledde not from the walles, but resisted the Christians valiantly, and suffered them not to enter the Towne that way, if they had not bin assaulted in another place. But when the Company that lay in ambush

heard

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heard the shooting of their fellows, they began likewise their onset. The Indians knowing nothing what was prepared behinde their backs, and hauing also their hands full in defending the entrance by the riuer: and the Christians finding that part of the towne without resistance, entred in with a terrible noyse, killing as many as they met. Then the townesmen vnderstood their ouersight, and would haue remedied it, and fledde from the place where Cortez was giuing combat, where by Cortez and his company entered the towne at ease, without contradiction, so that hee and the other company of his Souldiers met together at the Market place, and expelled all the Indians out of the towne, except those that were taken prisoners, and the carcases of the dead. Then the Christians sought the spoyle, and founde nothing but Turkie Pennes, and some things wrought of Cotton wolle, but very little Gold.

There was that day about foure thousand Indians in fight and defence of the towne: There was much Indian blood shed, because they fought naked, many were wounded, and selue captiue. Cortez lodged himselfe with his armie in the chiefeest Temple of the Idoles, where was room sufficient. They kept that night good watch, as in a house of enemies, but the poore Indians durst not once interrupt them. After this sort was Potonchan taken, being the first Citie that Cortez wanne by force in all his Conquest.

The

the west India.

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The Battell of Cintla.

All that night Cortez slept not, but rather occupied himselfe in carrying the wounded men, and as other staffe aboord the ships, and also to disembarke thirtene Horses, and the residue of his men that he had left aboord, the which he brought to passe before the Sunne rising, although the Tawascans had notice thereof. When the Sunne was risen, hee had with his company made vnto **G D D** their prayers, and mustered his men, where were at that time in Campe neare five hundred Spaniards, thirtene Horses, and fire peeces of Ordnance: These Horses were the first that ever came into that Countrey, whiche now is called new Spaine. He planted his men and Munition in good order, and thus marched forwarde towarde Cintla. The Indians seeing this preparation, began also to make ready, and to place in good order fortie thousand men in five companies: their meeting was in ploughed land among many deepe lakes and pondees, very daungerous to passe, so that our men by reason thereof were brought out of order. And Hernando Cortez with his horsemen went to seek a better passage, and to enclose himselfe among certain trees on their left hand, so to set upon the enemies when time should serue. The footemen proceeded on, and passed many marishe groundes, untill they came to the filled. The Indians were expert in those places where they beganne the battaile, shooting with their bowes and slinges, and throwing of daries. Although our men did some hurt among them with their Crossebows, hand gunnes, and ordinance, when they were in place to shot, yet the Indians pursued our men so thicke, that they could not put them off, so by pollicie, the Indians of Potonchan hadue sought out that place: and it is to bee thought

Care of a
good Cap-
taine.

Fortie thou-
sand Indians.

Perill of
the Christi-
ans.

A miracle.

that they were not barbarous, nor of small understanding in warres, yet notwithstanding with much payne, our men gatte out of that place, and obtained another somewhat better, and more playner ground, whereas they might vse their Ordnance, and fight with their weapons bodie to bodie. But the Indians being so greate a number, drave our men to so narrowe a place, that they were fayne to ioyne backe to backe for their owne defence, yea and for all that were in marvellous great daunger, for they had no roome to vse their Ordnance, nor yet Horsemen to make them waye. They being in this perplexitie, and readie to dye, suddenly appeared a Horseman with a speckled Horse, whome they iudged to be Captaine Morla, which Horseman sette vpon the Indians, and made them retyre: and hauing more space then before, they sette afresh vpon the enemies, and slew some of them. In this meane tyme the Horsemanne baded away, and was not seene, and with his absence the Indians beganne afresh, and enclosed the Christians in the same daunger that they were in before: then the Horsemanne appeared againe nere our menne, and made marvellous way among the enemies, wherevpon our menne seeing this succoure, gaue the onset againe with great courage, and slew and hurt many Indians, but at the best season, the Horseman banished away cleane out of sighte, and when the Indians sawe not the Horsemanne, with feare of whome they fledde, thinking that he hadde bin a Centaure, and that the Horse and man was all one incorporate, they returned againe with liuely courage, and used our Christians worse than they hadde done before. When the Horseman returned the thirde time, and putte the Indians to flight with great hurte, vpon our souldiers pursued with great laughter.

Polva

So at this instant came Cortez with all his company of horsemen, being wearied with the travell in passing such strange lakes and wilderness, whereof the country is replenished. Our men being ioyfull of his comming, they began to enforme him what wonders they had scene a horseman do, which came to succour them, demanding of him which of their companie it was. Cortez answered and faithfully assured them, that it was none of their company, because it was not possible for any of them to come any sooner: Then they all gave God praise, believing that it was a helpe sent from heaven. Cortez said (my deare fellows) for wards, for God is with vs. Then the horsemen set vpon the Indians, and with force of lance dzone them out of the marsh ground, and brake their maine battell. The Indians incontinent left the field, and fled into the thicke woods, the footmen followed them, and slue about three hundred Indians, besides many other that were hurt. There were above fouentie Spaniards wounded with arrowes and stones.

And whether it were with labour of the battell, or with excessive heate, or with drinking the water of that place, there fell such a stich in their loynes, that about a hundred of them fell flat vpon the ground, not able to go nor stand, their fellows being forced to carry them on their backs. But it pleased God that the same night the paine went from them, being in the morning wel again. Who seeing themselves deliuered from so many perils, gave most humble thanks to the almightie God, that had myraculously deliuered them. They all agreed that three times they had scene the strange Horseman, with the speckled horse, fight in their fauour, as is aforesaid, believing generally it was a myracle, as certainly it did appeare, for the Christians did not alone see this thing, but also the Indians did much note it, for the marvellous fiercenesse

A sodaine
discafe.

The Conquest of

where with hee came vpon them, with such great murder, that they were amazed, and almost blinde with his brightnesse, being so trodden vnder his fete. The captiue Indians after the battell declared the circumstance thereof.

The Lord Tausasco submitteth himselfe
to the Christians.



Cortez released some of his Prisoners, and sent them to their Lordes, saying: that it grieved him the hurt done on both parties, but the fault was theirs. And that God was witnesse of his innocencie, and also of his curtesie offered vnto them.

But notwithstanding all that was past, he pardoned their error with such condition, That if incontinent or within two dayes, their Lordes would come vnto him, to geue satisfaction of their malice and stubbornnesse, and to treat of peace and friendship, warning and aduising them, that if they came not within the time appointed, hee would enter into his Countrey, burning and spoiling with slaughter both great and small, armed and vnarmed: with which message the messengers departed, and Cortez returned to the Towne to cure his wounded men. The next day came fiftie ancient Indians to craue pardon for their offence, and also licence to bury the dead, with likewise safeconduct that their rulers and principall persons might safely come vnto the towne. Cortez graunted their request, warning them to make any lyes or yet to conspire againe: and al

The Carike
embassadors.

the vvest India.

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so if their lordes came not personally, he would not heare any moze embassadozs : with this rigozous comādemēt and protestatiō they departed. These Indians feeling their strength would not pꝛeuailē, thinking the Chꝛistians to be inuincible, their Lordes and chiefeſt persons did determine to goe and viſite the chꝛistians and their capſaine. And according to the time appointed, the Lordē of that town and other ſoure Lordes his neyghbours came vnto Cortez with a good trayue of their vassals and ſeruitours, and presented vnto him, bread, turkie hennes, and fruites, with other like pꝛouiſion for his hoſt, with ſoure hundred pieces of gold of the value of 400. double duckets, wth other ſmall iewelz, and certaine Turkie ſtones of ſmall value. And twentie women ſlaues, to ſerue to make breade and breſte meate for the whole army. He craued and beſeeched Cortez to pardon his ſozmer offence. And to accept and receiue them into his frienſhippe. And in token of his obedience, hee and his ſellowes did willingly deliuer their bodies, landes and goods into his handes and power. Cortez did louingly receiue them, & gaue vnto them certaine trifles of his warres, which they eſteemed much. And thoſe Indians hearing the hozles and maresney, they maruelled at their neyng, thinking that the hozles could ſpeake, and demaunded of the Chꝛistians what they ſaid, (mary quoth they) theſe hozles are ſore offended with you becauſe ye fought with them, and would haue you corrected and chaſtened for your ſo doing. The ſimple Indians hearing this, presented roſes and Gynea Hens vnto the hozles, deſiring them to eate and to pardon them.

Certaine

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Certaine questions that Cortez deuised of
the Cacike Tausco.



Any things passed betwene our men and the Indians: for where the Indians vnderstood them not; their behaviour was much to laugh at. And seeing conuersation with our men, and seeing they receyued no hurt of them, they bzought to the towne their wines and chilozen, which were no small number. And among many matters that Cortez communed with Tausco, by the mouth of Ieronimo de Aguilas his interpreter.

The first question was: Whether there were mines of gold or siluer in that countrey, and from whence they had that small quantitie that they had bzought vnto them?

The second question was: Why they denied him their friendship, moze then the other captaine that had bene there the yeare before?

The third was: Why they being so many in number, fled from them being so few?

The fourth was: To giue the to vnderstand the mightie power of the king of Castill. And last of all to giue them knowledge of the faith of Iesus Christ.

The answer
of Cacike.

As touching sir (quoth he) the Mines of gold and siluer in our countrey, we seeke for none, for we seeke not after treasure and riches, but we procure and desire a quiet life. And that gold which we haue, was found by chance: for we know not what mines doe meane. Yet notwithstanding further within the land, whereas the Sun doth hide himselfe, there the people do find much gold, and are giuen to seeke the same.

And

And as touching the Captaine that was here of late, we seeing the men and shippes to be such as we had neuer before seene, spake vnto them and demaunded what they would haue, they said that their comming was, to change their merchandise for gold and nothing else, wherefoze we graunted to their request. But now seeing greater vessels and more in number, we feared least ye came to take our substance. And I knowing my selfe nothing inferiour to any of my neighbours, would not permit any iniury to be offered me, and that he & his subiects did esteem themselves the most valiant of men of warre in all these parties, and that none durst take away their goods, women, and children, to bee sacrificed by force, where vpon he thought to withstand those few Christians, but (quoth he) I found my selfe deceiued, seeing we could not kill any of your company. And likewise the brightnesse of your weapons did blinde vs, and the woundes you made were incurable.

But the noyse and lightning of your ordinaunce dyd more amaze vs, then either thunder-clappes or tempest: and also the great spoyle that you made among vs there with: likewise your straunge horses made vs greatly to wonder, to behold their open mouthes, we feared to be swallowed. And then to consider their swiftnesse in running, we knew no creature could escape them. But the first horse that fought with vs, put vs in marvellous fear, being but one, but when wee espied many, then all our helpe was past, for wee believed that the horse and man was all one incorporate.

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How the Indians of Potonchan brake downe
their Idols, and worshipped
Christ.



With the relation of Traualco Cortez
saue that the countrey was not for
Spaniards, nor yet hee tooke it a
thing conuenient to settle them-
selues where no golde nor silver
was, or other riches. And so preten-
ded to passe forwarde to discouer
Westward the land endued with
golde. But before his departure, he declared to those
newe conquered Indians, that the Lord in whose name
he and his company had taken that iourney, was king of
Spaine and Emperour of Christians, and the greatest
Prince in the worlde, vnto whom many Kinges and
Princes did homage and obey. And that his rule and
gouernement in iustice proceeded from God, being
iust, holie, peateable and swete, and also the Monar-
chie of the vniuersall did appertaine vnto him. And for
these causes he required them to yeld themselves as his
subiectes. And if they would doe so, there should ensue
vnto them great profite, labes and pollicie. And as tou-
ching their religion, he declared their blindness & great
abuses which they vsed in worshipping many Gods, and
in making sacrifice vnto them with mans blood, yea and
thinking that those images and Idols, did or coulde doe
good or euill vnto them, being dumbe, without life or
soule, yea and the worke of their owne handes. He certi-
fied them of one goodmaker of heauen and earth, and all
creatures whom the christians did worship and serue, and
that

that all creatures ought to doe the same. In conclusion with this doctrine they bzake downe their Idols, and returned the crosse, Cortez hauing first declared vnto them the great miseries that the son of God suffered on the crosse for mankinde. And in the greatest temple of Potonchan, set vp a Crosse in remembrance of the death of Christ, and celebrated the feast vpon their knees, and the multitude of Indians likewise, and departed to their meate. Cortez desired them within two daies to come againe to their diuine service. And that day was Palme Sunday, And so they did, and brought an infinite number of men, women and children of other villages with them which was strange to behold. And there generally gaue their vassalship to the king of Spaine into the handes of Hernando Cortez, with protestation of perpetuall friendship with the Spanish nation. So that these were the first vassals that the Emperour had in the new Spaine. And this feast and ceremonie ended, our men tooke shipping with the palme boughes in their handes. In this doing Cortez deserved no lesse praise then in his victorie, for he vsed wisdom with manhoode in all his doings: he left those Indians with a new faith, and the towne free and without hurt, he tooke none for slaves, nor yet any spoile, nor exchanged his merchandize for any thing, although he abode there twentie daies. The towne is called in the Indian tongue Potonchan, that is to say, a place that sticketh, and our menne named it, the Victorie.

The Lord (as ye haue heard) was called Tausco, and therefore the first Spaniards that came thither, named the riuer Tausco, but Grijalua called it after his owne name, whose name and remembrance will not so sone be forgotten. And truely all those that doe discover

The Conquest of

newe Countries, ought to make perpetuall their owne names. This town doth containe neare five and twentie thousand houles (as some say) but as euery house standeth by himse lfe like an Ilande, it seemeth much bigger then it is indeed. The houles are great, made of lime, stone, and brick: others there are made of mud-wall and rafters, and couered with straw or boyds. Their dwelling is in the vpper parte of the house, for the great moystnesse of the riuers and lakes, and for feare of fire, they haue their houles separated the one from the other. Without the towne they haue moze fairer houses then within, for their recreation and pleasure. They are browne people, and go almost naked, and eat mans flesh sacrificed. Their weapons are bowes and arrowes, slings, darts, and lances. The armor wherewith they defend themselves, are Targets and skulles made of wood or barke of trees, and some of gold very thinne. They haue also a certaine kinde of harneis made of cotten wolle wapped about their stomacke.

The good entertainement that Cortez had
in Saint Iohn de Vlhua.



Aptaine Cortez and his company being embarked, sayled Westwards as nigh the shoare as they might. And this coast hauing no harboures, they found no place where they might anker safely with their greater vessels, vntill they arriued vpon Paundie-Thursday at Saint Iohn de Vlhua, which seemed a good harbor for them. The Indians of this place call this harbor Chalchicoeca, there the first came to anker. They were not so sone at Roade, but incontinent came

came two little boates named Acalles, enquiring for the Generall of the flete, who when they came to his presence, did humble reuerence vnto him, and sayd vnto him, that Teudilli the Gouvernour of that Province sent to knowe what people they were, and what they woulde haue, and whether they meant to stay there, or proceede further. Aguilar did not well vnderstande that language. Cortez caused him to come aboord his Shippe, giving them thanks for their paynes, and visitation. He made vnto them a banquet of Wine and Conserua, and sayde vnto them, that the next day following hee woulde come alande, and talke with the Gouvernour, whom hee besought not to alter him, nor his people with his comming a shoze, for he meant not to molest him, but rather to pleasure and profite him. So that these messengers were rewarded with cer- tayne giftes, they eate and dranke, but yet suspected euill, although they liked the Wine well, wherefore they desired to haue the reof, and also of the Conserua, to present vnto their Lord, which was giuen them, and so departed.

The next day beeing good Fryday, Cortez came alande with his Boates full of menne, and brought his Horses and Artillarie a shoze, by little and little, with all his men of warre, and two hundredeth Indians of Cuba, which serued to toyle and labour. Hee planted himselfe in the best situation that hee could finde among the sandie Bankes on the Sea side, and there pitched his Campe, and hauing neare that place manie trees, they buylt them Cottages with boughes.

From a little Village that was at hand, came manie Indians to gaze at things so straunge, and the like neuer seen vnto them, and brought with them gold so barter for

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such toyies as the two little Boates had brought from them befoze. They brought also bread and meate ready dressed after their vse likewise to sell. Our men chaunged with them Bead-stones of Glasse, looking Glasse, Silfers, Knives, Pinnes, and such other wares, where of the Indians were not a little glad, returning home to their houses, shewing their neighbours. The ioy and pleasure that these simple soules tooke with these trifles, was so great, that the next day they came againe with other Indians laden with Jewels of gold. Turky hens, bread, meate, and fruit, that sufficed for all the Campe, and for the same they receyued needles, and Bead-stones of Glasse, but the poore soules thought themselves thereby so rich, that they knewe not where they were with ioy and pleasure, yea, and they thought that they had deceyued the Straungers. Nowe Cortez seeing the great quantitie of golde brought and bartered so foolishly for trifles of no valewe, proclaymed throughout all his hoste, that no Christian shoulde take anie golde hypon great penaltie, and that they shoulde all shewe, as though they knewe not to what purpose the golde serued, and that they passed not for it, because they shoulde not thinke that the desire thereof had brought them thither, and so they did dissemble that great demonstration of golde, to see what was meant thereby, and whether the Indians hadde brought that Golde, to proue whether their comming was for that or no. On Easter day in the morning, came Teudilli the Gouvernor to the Campe, from Cotocha his dwelling place, which was eight leagues from thence. He brought attending hypon his person foure thousande men without weapon, and the most part well cloathed, some of them with garments of Cotton, rich after their manner. And others naked, laden with victuals in great abundance, which was

Wisdom.

The comming
of the gouernour.

the west India.

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was straunge to see. Teudilli according to their vsance, did his reuerence to the Captaine, burning frankincense, and little straws touched in the blood of his owne bodie, he presented vnto him the victuals, and certaine Jewels of golde verie rich and well wrought, and other things made of feathers verie curious, straunge and artificiall. Cortes embraced him in his armes, and receiued him toylfully, saluting all his companie. He gaue to Teudilli a roate of silke, a bysch, and a collar of glasse, with manie other peces of Haberdash wares, which was highly esteemed of him.

A strange
salutation

The talke of Cortez with Teudilli.



At the former talke was had without an enterpretour, because Ieronimo de Aguilar vnderstode not this language, because it differed much from the speech of the other Indians, whereas hee had bene captiue: for which cause Cortez was somewhat carefull, because hee

would largely haue discoursed with Teudilli. It chaunced that among those twentie women giuen him in Potonchan, one of them stode talking with a seruauant of Teudilli, because shee vnderstode them as men of her owne language. Cortez espying this, called her asyde, and promised her more then libertie, so that shee woulde be a trustie and faithfull interpreter betwixt him and those Indians, and that he would esteeme her as his Secretary. And further demaunded of her of what linage shee was, then shee answered, that shee was naturall of the Countrey that bordered vpon Xalisco, and of a towne called

A maruellous
hap.

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called Viluca, daughter unto riche parentes, and of the kindred of the Lord of that lande. And being a little girle, certaine Merchantes did steale her away in tyme of warre, and brought her to be solde at the fayre of Xicalanco, which is a greate Towne nere Coasacualco, not farre distant from Tualco: and after this sorte she came to the power of the Lord of Potonchan. This woman was Christened Marina. She and her fellowes were the firste Christians baptised in all the newe Spayne, and she onely with Aguilar, were Interpreters betwixt the Indias and our men.

Nowe Cortez being assured of his true Interpreters, he celebrated his accustomed diuine seruice, and Teudilli with him, and after they hadde dyned in Cortez hys Tente in presence of many Spanyardes and Indians, Cortez enformed Teudilli howe that he was vassall to the Lord Charles of Austria, Emperour of the Christians, and King of Spayne, and Lord ouer a greate parte of the worlde, whome great Kinges and princes did serue and obey: and that all Princes were glad to be his friendes for his Vertue and mighte. And he hauing aduertisement of that Countrey and Lord thereof, hadde sente him thither to visite him on his behalfe, and to informe him of certaine secrete matters, the effecte whereof he hadde in writing. Sir (quoth Teudilli,) I am very glad to heare the Patience and Vertue of the Emperoure youre maister, but you shall vnderstande, that my Lord the Emperoure Melzuma is as greate and as good a Prince as he. And I doe muche maruell, that there shoulde be anye so greate a Prince in the whole worlde, but yet according to youre request, I will certifie hym, and knowe hys pleasure, for I trust (quoth he) in the clemencie of my Prince, that youre newes and message shall be acceptable vnto him, and

The answer
of Teudilli.

and you well recompensed for your paines. Cortez then commanded al his men to set themselves in order of battayle with pike and drumme, and to skirmish befoze Teudilli. And that the Hozsemen should runne, and the ordinaunce shotte off, to the entent that Mutezuma should be aduertised thereof. The Indians did muche behold the gesture, apparell and beardes of our men, they wondered to see the hozses runne, they feared the brightnesse of the swordes, and at the noyse of the ordinaunce they fell flatte to the ground, thinking that the heauens did fall. And the shippes, they held opinion was the God of the ayre called Quezalcoatl, which came with the temples on his backe, for they dayly looked for him. Teudilli dispatched the poste to Mexico, to Mutezuma, aduising him of all that he had scene, and demaunded golde of him for to giue vnto the Captaine of that newe people. Because Cortez had inquired of him, whether Mutezuma had gold or no, he answered (yes) many quoth Cortez, I and my fellowes haue a certayne disease of the harte, and golde helpeth vs. This message wente from the campe to Mexico in one day and a night, which is 210. mile, and the poste carried paynted, the hozses and hozsemen vpon them, the maner of their armour, & howe many peces of ordinaunce they had, and what number of bearded men there were: and as for the shippes, he had giue aduise as soone as they arriued, shewing the greatnesse and quantitie of them. All these things aforesayd, Teudilli caused to be paynted in cloth of Cotton very liuely, that Mutezuma might see it. The cause that this message wente so farre in so shorthe a space, was, they had certaine places that postes attended, as we may say hozsepostes, which gaue alwaies from hand to hande the paynted cloth: they doe runne on fote faster in this sorte, then by hozsepost, and is moze of antiquitie than hozsepost: Also Teudilli sent to Mutezuma the garmets & many other

The disease
of the Spaniards.

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ether things which Cortez had giuen him, which things were after wards found in the treasorie of Mutezuma.

The present and answere that Mutezuma sent vnto Cortez.



After the message sent, and the answer promised, Teudilli tooke his leaue, and within two slight thote of Cortez his campe, he caused a thousand cottages of boughes to be made, and left there two principall men as Captaines ouer two thousand persons men & women, and the departed for Cotozla his dwelling place. The two Captaines had charge to provide the Christians of all things necessary, and the women serued to grinde their cozne and make bread of Maiz, and to dresse their fish and flesh and other bittails, and the men serued to carry the drested meate to the Christians campe, and wood, water, and grasse for the horses, and all other necessaries, and this they passed eight daies. In this meane season returned the poste with a riche and gentle present, which was many couerlets and clothes of cotton, white, and of other colours wrought, many tusses of feathers very faire, and some things wrought with gold and feathers, quantitie of Jewels & peeces of gold and silver, two thinne whēles, the one of silver which wayed 25. markes with the signe of the Spone, and the other whēle of gold which wayed a hundreth markes, made like vnto the Sunne, with many leaues and beastes, a very curious peece of toozke, these two things they helde for Gods in that countrey, & giue them the colours of the mettall that is likest them, every whēle was two yards & a half broad, and so proportionally in compasse rounde about, this present was esteemed at 20000. Ducats. This present should
have

haue bene giuen to Grijalus, if he had not so soone departed as the Indians reported. He also gaue vnto Cortes this answer, that Mutezumaz his Lozde was verie gladd to knowe, & to be friend to suche a mighty Prince as the King of Spayne was, and that in his time should arriue in his countrey such new people, & the like neuer seene before, and that he was readie to shew them at pleasure & honour, requesting him to see what things he stood in neede of for the time that he meant to abide there, as well for himselfe as for his ships, army and decesse, and it should be prouided abundantly: yea and also if he could finde any thing in that countrey to his contentment, to present to the Emperour of Christians, he would willingly prouide it. And as touching the desire that Cortez had to come to visite & to haue communication with him, he thought it impossible, because that he was sickly and coulde not come vnto the sea coast, and likewise for Cortez to come where he did abide, it was harde, troublesome and difficill, as well for the many and cragged mountains, as also the countrey, wild, desart, and without habitation, and shoulde be constrained to suffer hunger, thirst, and other necessitie: and moreover the inhabitants of much part of the way that he shoulde passe, were his enemies, both cruel & cursed people, and knowing the to be his friends, they should not escape with life.

The excuse of
Mutezuma.

All these excuses did Mutezuma by the mouth of Teudilli declare vnto Cortes, thinking to driue him fro his purpose & pretended iourney, alleaging the foresaid difficulties and perils, the Indians did also hope that with some contrary weather they should be forced to leaue that coast and countrey. Notwithstanding this objection, so much the more desire had Cortes to visite Mutezuma, who was so great a prince in that parties, & throughly to discover the treasure which he imagined to be ther. And hauing receiued & presented, & also & answer, he gaue vnto Teudilli a garment of his

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stone wearing, and many other trifles of his Haberdash, to be sente vnto Mutezuma, saying that if it were for no other purpose but onely to see so mightie and vertuous a Prince, it should be requisite and iuste to trauaile vnto his Court, how much the more, he was of due tie constrained to doe the Embassage which the Emperour of Chastians had willed and commaunded him to doe, for other wise he should incurre the displeasure of the King his mayster, wherefoze he besought Teudilli yet once againe to aduertise Mutezuma of his constant determinatio, because he should vnderstande that he would not leaue off his pretended purpose for any inconuenience that was obiected vnto him. Allreagynge moreouer, that he who had comen 2000. leagues by sea, mought well goe 70. leagues by lande, and considering that he had many at his charge with small prouision, and likewise his shippes in danger, he required that with all expedition the messengers should be dispatched. Teudilli desired him to recreate himselfe, & not to take any grieffe, for as much as he himselfe did dayly aduertise Mutezuma of his proceedinges, euen so with all expedition the full resolution should come from Mexico, although it were somewhat farre off. And as for his victuals, he should take no care, for abundantly he should be prouided. And also desired him for so much as he was not well placed among those sandy bankes, that it might please him, to goe with him to certaine towne aboute fife or seuen leagues from thence. Cortez refused that offer, where vpon Teudilli departed, and he abode there ten dayes looking for answer from Mutezuma.

Now

theyvest India.

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How Cortez knew of discord and dissention
to be in the Country



In this meane season, certain Indians were espied, that went lurking a far off among the sandy hilles. And those came not neare the Indians that serued the Spaniard, Cortez demaunded what people they were, and for what cause they went lurking so far off, and came not neerer vnto them.

The two captaines answered, that they were husbandmen, that went about their husbandry. Cortez lyked not their answer, but suspected that they had told him a lie: for it seemed vnto him that those people desired to come among the Christians, and that they durst not for feare of the Indians of Teudilli, and so it was in very verdee. For all that coast and maine land within as farre as Mexico, was full of the newes and straunge things that our men had done in Potonchan. Wherefore they all desired to see them, and to talke with them, but they durst not for feare of the Indians of Culhua, who are subiects vnto Mutezuma, where vpon Cortez sent fīue Spaniards to cal them with signes and tokens of peate. This company of Indians were in number twentie, and were glad to beholde those fīue men comming towarde them, and were desirous to see such strange people and ships, wherefore they came willingly altogether vnto Cortez his Tent.

These Indians did differ much from all the other Indians yet sene, for they were higher of person, and had the gristles of their noses slitte, hanging ouer their mouths, and rings of Jette and Amber hanging thereat. They had also their nether lippes bozed, and in the holes rings of gold, and Turky Stones, which weyed so much,

The Indians
attire.

The Conquest of

that their lips hanged doونه ouer their chinnes, and their teeth remained bare: The which custome although they bled for a hauerie, it seemed a foule and ugly sight in the Spaniards eyes, and very loathsome.

The other Indians of Mutezuma, had their lippes and eares bozed, with rounde stones hanging at the iaggess thereof, yet they had not such foule smittes in their noses, but they had such bozed holes that a man might put any finger of his hand thzough them, with rings of golde and stone hanging thereat, the euill fauoured sight of their faces made our men to muse.

Cortez communed with them by his interpreter Marina, to knowe from whence they were, they answered, that they were dwellers in Zempoallan, a Citie distant from thence one dayes iourney, situated vpon a riuer side, and bordered vpon the Countrey of Mutezumazin, and that their Cazike or Lord had sent them, to see what Gods were come in those Teucallis, that is to say, temple, saying, also that they durst not come sooner, not knowing what people they were.

Cortez made much of them, and shewed a cherefull countenance vnto them, for they seemed very bestiall, he declared vnto them that hee was gladde of their coming, and so knowe the good will that their Lord bare vnto him, and gaue them Haberdash toys, and shewed them the hoxses and armour, a straunge sight to them. And so they went thzough the armie looking and gazing here and there as men amazed. And in all the time they abode there, they vsed no conuersation with the other Indians. Cortez enquired of Marina the cause therof, and she said, that those men did not only speak an other language, but also did appertaine to another Lord, who was not vassall to Mutezuma, but by force and extortion.

Cortez was verie glad of that newes, for hee con-
iectured

lectured by the talke of Teudilli, that Mutezuma had warres and enemies, whereupon hee tooke aside three of those Indians which seemed most wylest, and demanded of them by Marina, what Lordes there were in that Countrey: they aunswered that Mutezuma was Lord over all, although in euerie Citie and Province was a Lord, yet neuerthelesse all in generall did pay tribute and serue him as bassals, nay rather like slaues. But yet many of them of late dayes did reknowledge him by force of armes, and payde vnto him such tolls and tribute that they were not accustomed to pay, of which number their Lord of Zempoallan was one of them, and other his neighbours, who many times helde him warre, to be free from his tyrannie and bondage, but yet sayd they, it penyaled not, for his host was great and his warriors valiant.

Cortez receyued great pleasure to finde in that Countrey dissention and disoord among some noble men, and at diuision among themselves, thinking thereby the better to bying his purpose to passe. He gaue thanks vnto those Indians for their aduise, offering vnto them his fauour, helpe and friendship, praying them to come often to his campe: and so tooke his leaue of them with his commendations to their Lord, and sent his certaine presents with aduertisement, that shortly he would come and see him, yea, and also serue him.

How

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How Cortez went to suruey the countrey
with foure hundred men.



At the end of tenne dayes came Teudilli backe againe, and brought certaine cloth of Cotton, and other things made of feathers, well wrought, for recompence of the thing sent vnto Mexico. And warned Cortez to depart, for at that time there was no remedy to see Mutezuma, and to looke what was necessarie for his provision and furniture, and it should be provided, offering the same service at any time that he should happen to come that way. Cortez would not accept the offer, saying: That he would not depart from that Countrey, vntill he had both seene and talked with Mutezuma. The gouernour Teudilli yet againe replied, that he should not contend therein, and with those wordes departed from him. The next night following he with all those Indians, as well men as women which attended to serue and provide the Spanish campe, went from thence: so that in the morning all the cottages were empty, where those seruitors had bene.

Cortez suspecting this alteration, provided himself with preparation for battel, and finding the matter contrary to his expectation, he deliberated to seeke a sure road or harbor for his navy, and also a good plot or situation to build vpon, for then he fully ment to obtaine perpetuities, and to conquer the land, considering that he had found such great tokens of gold, plate, & other riches, and there about within a whole league compass, was so fit place for y purpose: for why? all was sandy ground, & such as tolled to & fro with the wind, with other moorish ground not meete for habitation. In consideration wherof he sent Francisco de Moteio, with two vergantines, and fittie men, to runne along the coast,

the west India.

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coast, vntill they should finde some reasonable poart and good situation to build vpon.

Monteio proceeded on his voyage, and sayled in sight of lande, vntill he came to Panuco, without finding any port or harbour, seeing the shadowe of a Rocke, which stood somewhat distant from the lande a sea-ward, so that at thre weekes ende he returned backe againe with the foresayd newes. Having runne so little a way, he fell into such terrible currants, that although hee made waye with oares and sayles, yet the saide Current forced him backe againe. Also he brought newes, that the Indians of that coast did let themselues blood, offering the same vnto them vppon little strawes, in token of friendship or deitie.

The relation of Monteio contented not Cortez, yet notwithstanding hee pretended to goe to the shade or succoure of the Rocke, because he was enformed, that neare that place, was two faire Riuers, with store of wooddes, necessary for Timber and fire woodde, great quantitie of stones to builde with, faire pastures, and grounde for tillage, although the harbour was not sufficient for his Pauie and contratation, because that roade was without defence, and open vppon the North, which is the winde that moste ruleth with greatest hurt vpon that coast.

And also considering that Teudilli and his menne were departed, fearing also the want of victuals, and likewise, that his Shippes mighte perishe vppon the shoze, hee commaunded to lade aborde all their stufte, and hee with foure hundred menne, and all his Horses, followed on the hyghe waye that the Indians hadde gone.

After he had iourneyed thre leagues, he came to a faire badeable Riuer, and passing ouer the Riuer, he
founde

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founde a towne not inhabited, for the inhabitantes there, of were fledde with feare: he entered into a great house, which seemed the place of the Lozde of the Towne, built with timber and earthen walles, the foundation whereof was raised with handie worke, about a sadome high: the roose was couered with strawe, but of a faire and straunge workemanshippe inwarde, with many great partititions, some full of pottes of honey, and Paiz, with other graine which they keepe in store all the year: other rooms had cloth of Cotten wolle, wrought with feathers, golde and silver.

Cortez commaunded Proclamation to be made, that none of his company shoulde take any thing away, upon payne of death (onely victualls excepted) to the entente to obtaine the good will and friendship among the Indians.

There was in that Village a Temple, whiche hadde a little Tower with a Chappell on the toppe, and twentie steppes to come vnto the Chappell, where they found some Idolles, and many bloodie papers, and much mans blood of those which hadde bene sacrificed, as Marina did certifie.

They founde also the blocke whereupon they bled to cutte open the men sacrificed, and the razours made of flint, wherewith they opened their breaſtes, and plucked out their hearts being alive, throwing them upward Heauen as an offering, and after this done, they annoynted their Idolles, and the papers they offered, and then burned them.

This sight put a great compassion, yea and a feare among our Spanyards, who did behold these things. From this Village they went to other three or foure, and founde none aboue two hundred houses, and all without people, yet well prouided with victuall, as the first towne was.

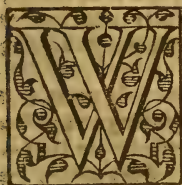
Cortez

the west India.

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Cortez returned from thence to discharge his ships, and to take order to send for more men: and with desire to beginne habitation, in these affaires hee occupied himselfe tenne dayes.

How Cortez rendred vp his charge and office
with pollicie.



When Cortez was come where his shippes were, and the residue of his company, he began this talke, saying:
How my louing friends and fellows, ye doe see what great mercie God hath shewed vnto vs, in bringing vs safe and in health to so good and riche a Countrey, as by manifest

signes and tokens we haue already seene, yea and how plentiful of meate, inhabited of people, better cloathed, and of more iudgement & reason, then the others which ye haue seene, since your first comming: also better buildings, fields of grain & corne: yea and it is to be thought, that the things not yet seene, do surmount all that hitherto ye haue plainly seene. Wherefoze we ought to giue most hartie thanks vnto God, and to begin our habitation here, whereas we shall enioy the grace and mercy of God. And to bring this matter to passe, methink best that we abide here, vntil we may finde a better port or situation. Also that we make a wall or Castell for our defence, if neede should happen, for the people of this land hath little ioy of our comming and abiding here.

It was then considered that from that place they might the sooner haue friendshippe and contraction with the Indians and Townes nexte adioyning, as Zempoalan, and others which were enemies to Mutezuma, and being in this order once placed, they might

discharge their shippes, and sende them incontinent to Cuba, Santo Domingo, Iamayca, Borriquen, and other Ilandes, or else to Spayne for more men, armour and Horses, and for clothing and victuals.

Moreouer, it was thought iust and mete, to sende relation of all their proceedings to the Emperoure the King and maister, with the demonstration of golde, syluer, and other riches, which they had in their power.

Pollicie.

And becaule all these things should be done in good order, Cortez determined as captaine generall, to appoint a Councell, Aldermen, and Iudges.

And also ordeyne all other offices that should be necessary and needefull to rule & gouerne a Citie, which he then pretended to edifie and erecte, the which Magistrates should fully command, untill such time that the Emperour should otherwise prouide in matters conuenient for his seruice.

After this diligence put in vze, he solemnely toke possession of all the land, in y name of the Emperour Charles King of Castill, with all the actes and ceremonies, as to such a matter apperteyned. And demaunded of Francisco Fernandez notarie appointed, that he should giue vnto him by testimonie in wryting, all the actes done therein. All his company answered, that they did very well allowe hys proceedings and praysed, and also approued his determination, beseeching him to procede accordingly, sithence they were come to serue and obey hym. When Cortez named Iudges, Aldermen, Attorney, Sericant, Potary, and Towneclearke, and all other officers apperteyning to the good gouernement of a Citie, in the name and behalfe of the Emperoure his naturall Lord, and deliuered incontinent to the Iudges white rodde to beare in their handes in token of Justice, and named the newe Citie to be builde, The riche Towne

A good
subiecte.

De la

the west India.

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De la vera Cruz, because that on goodfriday they had entered into that land. After these things finished, Cortez began before the said Notary, another act in presence of the iudges, who were Alounso Fernandez Portocarero, and Francisco de Morteio, in whose hands he made cession, and did desist from all rule and offices whiche heretofore hee had receiued, which was his gouernership, captainship, and generall discouerer, receiued in the Chauncerie of Santo Domingo, at the handes of the Presidents, who were there chiefe of the kings counsell, and Presidents, likewise he protested not to vse the power and authoritie of the gouernour of Cuba, Admirall of India, soz so much that now none of them had any rule or gouernment in that Countrey which he and his sellowes had newly discovered, and begun to inhabite in the name of the king of Castill, as his naturall subiects. The which authoritie he likewise required to be set downe in record, and to haue a copie of the same.

How the Souldiers chose Cortez for Captaine
Generall, and chiefe ruler in Iustice.



All the new Officers tooke possession and charge of their Offices, and entered into the Towne-house to counsell, according to the vse and custome of Castill. In the which congregation or counsel then holden, many matters were had in question as touching the good gouernement of the Commonweale. And among many other things, they all agreed to elect Hernando Cortez for Captaine generall and chiefe Iustice, and to giue vnto him full power and authoritie

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for all matters appertaining to the warres and conquest, untill such time as the Emperour should otherwise provide: with this determination the next day following all the Aldermen, Judges, and Counsellors, went unto Cortez, and said unto him: Sir, we haue great neede of a guide and captaine for the warres, to preceede vpon the conquest of this countrey, wherfoze untill such time as the Emperour shall provide therein, they all besought him to accept that office and charge, approuing him a man most fit for the same, both to rule & gouerne, for the great experience that they had seene of his courage, wisdom, and policie, and by vertue of their offices, did commaund him to accept the same, saying, that in so doing, God and the king should be faythfully serued. And they woulde thankfully gratifie the same, knowing that at his handes, they should be ruled with iustice, blessed with humilitie, and be preserved with diligence and strength. And for that purpose, they had chosen him for that office, giuing vnto him their full & whole authority, submitting theselues vnder his haies, iurisdiction & defence. Cortez accepted the charge at small entreating, for he desired nothing so much.

And being in this sort elected general, the counsell said vnto him, Sir you do wel vnderstand, that vntil such time as we shall be better planted in this countrey, we haue not wherewith to maintaine our selues but only with such things as are aboard our ships. Wherefoze it may please you to commaund it to be brought ashore, and that you take therof what shall seeme good vnto you, for your household and familie, and the residue may be taxed at a reasonable price, & so to be diuided among them: and for payment they would al bind themselues, or else y^e presently it should be deducted out of the stocke, after that the kings siff part were subtracted. Likewise they desired him to value his ships and artillerie, because they would make like

like payment for the same, and that from thence forwards the shippes should serue in common, for to passe to the Ilands for bread, wine, clothes, weapons, hozles, and other things which should be needful for the new towne and army, for thereby they mought bee better cheape provided then if merchaunts should prouide them, considering alway they seeke for excessiue gaine, saying that if it would please him to accept this offer and request, they would thankfully requite the same. Cortez answered, that at the time he made his preparation and furniture in Cuba, he ment not to sell his prouision as others vled to do, but he would and did frankly giue it vnto them, although hee had spent his goods and indebted himselfe therein. And incontinent hee commaunded the maisters of the ships and puruers, to bring a land al their victual to the town house, requiring the Aldermen to diuide it equally, to euerie man his part, without making any difference of him or of any other, for (quoth he) in time of neede of victualls the yongest hath as much allowaunce as the eldest. And although I am indebted and doe owe more then seven *q.* Duckets, I giue this victuall all frankly vnto you. And as concerning the ships, I wil do that which shall be most conuenient for you all. And (quoth he) I will determine nothing to be done wth them, but will first giue you advertisement of the same.

All this did Cortez for to get their loue and fauour, because there were many that loued him not, although in very truth he was of his owne nature liberall and large in experience with all his souldiers in the warres.

The

The Conquest of

The receyuing of Cortez into
Zempoallan.



As much as the situation there was not convenient to place the newe woꝝke, they determined to goe from thence, to Aguahuitlan, which standeth neare the shadowe of the rocke that Montecio had inclosed them of, where vpon Cortez commaunded the Shippes to depart for that place. And hee with his foure hundred men and horses would goe by land, and there meete them, which may be about ten leagues iourney. In this order the fleet departed, and likewise Cortez with his company towarde Zempoallan, which stood directly westward, and after he had iourneyed thre leagues, he came to the riuer which diuided the Lordship of Mutezuma and Zempoallan, and could finde no passage, wherefoze hee was forced to re- turne to the sea side, where with much ado they passed ouer, and so trauelled on that side of the riuer, and found cottages of fishermen, and other poore houses, and some towne ground, and proceeding on their iourney, at length they came into very faire valleys, where was great store of deare, and still they went along the riuer side, hoping to finde some good towne, and in short space, they espied neare twentie persons vpon the top of an hill. Cortez commaunded foure of his horsemen to fetch them vnto him, willing them to make signs of peace vnto them, but if they die (quoth he) then follow them, vntill you ouertake them, for they shall stand vs in stead, as well to lead vs the way, as to serue vs for enterpreters.

The

The horsemen toke on their way, and when they came to the hill toppe, they made signes of peace vnto them, but the poze and fearefull Indians fledde with speede, yea being amazed and in great feare to beholde suche a monstrous thing as a horseman, beleuyng assuredly, that horse and man was one thing incorporate, but in theyr flight they were sone overtaken, and they yelded themselves, and so were all brought vnto Cortez.

Simplicite.

These men had in their eares and noses bozed holes, with rings of golde hanging thereat, for so was the vse of Zempoallan: they enforined Cortez that the Citie was neare at hande. Cortez demaunded the cause of their coming thither, they answered, to behold and see so straunge a sight, but why fledde you then (quoth he?) for feare only sir sayde they, of people which he knew not. Then Cortez willed them to put all feare aside, and tolde them that he with his small company would goe vnto their Citie to visite their Lorde, and to be acquainted with him: the Indians sayde, that the day was farre spent, and that it was late to goe that night to Zempoallan, but if it pleased him they would conduct him to a village whiche stode on the other side of the Riuer and within sight, and although it were but a small village, yet there was reasonable lodging with meate sufficiente for his armie: their counsell seemed well, so they wente to that village, and when they were comen thether, the Indians craued licence to goe & to aduertise their Lorde how the straungers abode in that place, promising to returne the nexte day with answer. Some of the Indians had licence to do the message, the others abode there, attending and providing for the newe gesses, & in this order they were all lodged and their supper abundantly provided. That night Cortez fortified himselfe as strong as mought be, and the nexte morning came a hundred men laden with Venues, saying that they

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their Lord much reioyced at their comming, and because he was so grosse and vnwealbie, hee came not personally vnto him, but yet notwithstanding he aboade in the cittie expecting his comming. Cortez friendly welcomed them, and with that present, hee and his company brake their faste, and then proceeded with his guides in good order, with two sauconets in readinesse, if neede should happen: and from that passage of the Riuer they had a faire way vntill they came to another Riuer, which being likewise waded ouer, they discried Zempoallan, which stood a myle distant from them, all beset with faire Orchards & Gardens, very pleasant to behold: they vsed alwaies to water them with Aules when they pleased.

There proceeded out of the Towne many persons, to behold and receiue so straunge a people vnto them. They came with smiling countenance, and presented vnto them diuers kindes of floures, and sundry frutes, which none of our men had heretofore seene. These people came without feare among y^e Ordinance, with this pompe, triumph and ioy, they were receiued into the Cittie, which seemed a beautifull Garden: for the trees were so greene and high, that scarcely the houses appeared.

At the Cittie gate stood many graue persons of nobilitie, as Magistrates of the Cittie, who solemnely welcomed the strangers. Sire Hozslemen, which hadde gone before the army to discover, returned backe as Cortez was entring into the Cittie, saying, that they had seene a great house and Court, and that the walles were garnished with fluer. Cortez commanded them to proceed on, willing them not to shewe any token of wonder of any thing that they should see. All the streets were replenished with people, which stood gaping and wondering at the hozses and strangers. And passing through a great market place, they saw on their right hand, a great wall.

Mens folly
with a great.
he.

ted house made of lyme and stone, with loupe holes and towers, whited with plaister that shined like siluer, being so well burnished and the sunne glistering vpon it. And that was the thing that the Spaniards thought had bene walles of siluer. I doe beleue that with the imagination and great desire which they had of golde and siluer, al that shined they deemed to be the same mettall.

Within this great house was a long row of lodgings, and on the other side six or seuen Towers one higher than another. They proceeded on, dissimulyng the error of the siluer walles, and followed their guide vntil suche time as they came to the Lordes lodging, who came forth accompanied with many auncient persons, & better attired then the other Citizens were, with two Gentlemen that ledde him by the armes. They saluted eche other according to the vse of their countreys, and then entred into the pallasce, where certaine principall men conducted Cortez and all his traine to their lodgyng, & Captaine Cortez was lodged in y^e house which had the glistering walles, situated in the markette place, whiche house was sufficient for him and all his companie. And when they were placed, and behelde the walles, they were ashamed of their owne folly: for where they thought those walles had bene adorned with siluer, they found them cleane contrary. Cortez deuised his men, caused his hoxses to be trimmed, & planned his ordynance at his wyse, making himself as strong as though he had bene in campe and nere his enemies. And commanded, that none of his men shoulde goe out of the house without his expresse licence vnder paine of death. The officers of the Lord prepared a plenteous supper for them, and bedding according to their vse.

A vigilanc
Captaine.

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The talke that the Lord of Zempoallan had with Cortez.



The next day in the morning came the Lord, to visite Cortez with an honorable company, and presented vnto him many garments wrought of Cotton woll, according to their fashion, with a knot on y^e shoulder like vnto the Egyptian garments, and certaine iewels of golde that might be worth two thousand Ducates, beseeching both him and his company to recreate themselves and take their reste, and at that present he meane nct to trouble him with any matters: And so toke his leaue for that time as he had done the day before, willing him to demaund and call for any thing that he should neede. Cortez gaue him hartie thanks and so departed.

Then came moe Indians in number then there were Spaniardes, with their courses & seruice of meate ready dressed, and many boughes of daintie fruits. In this sorte they were feasted & baked fiftene daies most plentifully. The next day following, Cortez sent vnto the Spaniardes certaine olde garments of the Spanishe fashion, and many other trifles, beseeching him to appoynt a day of conference at his olone pallyce: Word was sent agayne that he was ready and very well contented. Whereupon Cortez toke with him fiftie of his men all armed, and left the residue at his lodging in a good readinesse, and appoynted an vnder Captaine to gouerne them. The Lord hearing of his coming, came out of his Courte into the streete to receiue him. And hande in hand they entred together into a lowe hall, whiche they vse for the extremitie of heate in that country, the platte that they buyld vpon, is raised a fadome from the grounde, so that they ascende vpon.

Upon steeppes, and the walles plaistred with berie white lime, their tile is either of straw, or leaues of trees, very beautifull and straungely wrought, and a good defence against the raine. The Lord and Cortez sate them downe upon three seated stoles, made all of one peece, the Lord commaunded his seruitors to stande aside, and by their interpreters they began to commune of their affayres a great space, in demaunds and answers, because Cortez desired to bee well instructed of the affayres of that countrey, and likewise of that mightie king of Mutezuma.

This Cacike or lord, although he were huge and laden with flesh, yet in his demaundes and questions seemed berie wise. The summe of all Cortez his talke, was to shewe the cause of his coming thither, and who had sent him, euen as he had done in Tualasco to Teudilli, and others.

This Cacike after he had heard Cortez attentiuely, he began a long communication, making his complaint, and opening his griefe in this sort.

Mightie Sir; my Ancestors liued a long time in great peace, libertie and quietnes, but of late yeeres my countrey and Citie was destroyed by tyrannie, because the Lordes of Mexico Tenuchtlan with their men of Culhua, did not only vsurpe my citie, but also my lands by force of armes, in such sort that my power coulde not resist them. And in the beginning those Princes began their vsurpation by way and colour of religion and holinesse, and afterwards with force of armes, and with this title became Lords ouer vs.

The Indians
complaint.

Vnder colour
of holinesse.

And now we seeing our errour, haue thought it too late to preuaile agaynst them, to take away our yoke of seruitude and bondage, although we haue attempted it. And as often as wee haue so done, still the victorie was theirs, and the ouerthrow ours. Nowe all such as doe

submit themselves vnto them, are taxed with certaine tributes, and reknowledging them for Lordes, are defended by them, and esteemed as friends. But if after such submission made, any chaunce to speake agaynst them, or rebell, then they are terribly corrected, yea murdered, and after sacrifice made to the Goddes of warre, called Texcallipuca and Vitzilopucheli of their carcases, then is their flesh eaten in banquet, & those who remaine alive, doe serue for slaues, yea, and the fathers, Mothers and children, are compelled to labour and toile from the Sunne rising, to the Sunne setting, with confiscation of all their goods and landes. And besides all this crueltye and vituperie, they send their officers and Sergeants, to execute the premisses, who without eyther pitie or mercie, many times suffereth them to sterue with hunger. And beeing thus cruelly punished of Mutezuma, who nowe raigneth in Mexico, who would not suffer to be Masall willingly to so good a Prince as you enjoyed me of the Emperour, although it were but onely to be free from such vexation and robberie, which such a mightie King coulde doe. And with these wordes the teares gushed out of his eyes, and pausing a while, he began to extoll the strength, magnificence and situation of Mexico, planted in a great lake of water; also he evaluated the riches, Court, Palace, and mightie power of Mutezuma. We sayde also howe Tlaxcallan, Huexocinco, and other Prouinces thereabout, as also the people called Totonaquez of the Montaines, were of contrarie opinion to the Mexicans, yea enemies vnto them, who had intelligence what had happened in Tualco. Yea, sir (quoth he) if it please you, I will treat such a compact with this people, that Mutezuma with all his power shal not preuaile against vs.

Cortez reioyced in heart to heare this newes, and said

said vnto him. It grieueth me to heare of the euill blage
of Mutezuma toward his Countrey and subiects. But I
assure you with Gods helpe I will deliuer you, yea, and
reuenge all your iniuries, for my comming hither is to
take away all euill customes, and to helpe the oppressed,
to sauaour the prisoner, and comfort the afflicted, and chief-
ly to abolishe tyzannie. And for the good entertainment
that I haue receyued at your hands, I remaine yours to
doe you any pleasure, and to defend you against your ene-
mies, and the like will I doe for your friends, wherefore
I pray you aduertise them thereof, as many as are of our
consideracie.

Cortez then toke his leaue, saying that he had bene
many dayes there, and that hee had great neede to goe
visite his shippes, and men, who much desired his re-
turne, and abode in Aquiahuiztan, where hee meant
to sojourn for a certaine season, and from thence day-
ly they might conferre of their affayres. The Lorde
of Zempoallan sayde, that if it pleased him to abyde with
him, hee would gladly accept it, and if his businesse were
such that he might not, that then he besought him to re-
member him.

Then the Lord commaunded eight maydens to be cal-
led, who were very well apparellled after their maner,
their attire was much like the Morisca fashion, (the one
of them was more costly apparellled then the others) and
said vnto Cortes, all these maydens which you here see
are gentlewomen, noble and rich, and this maiden which
is best attyred, is a Ladie of Tlaxala's, and my brothers
daughter, I doe present her vnto you (meaning that Cor-
tez should marry her) and the others you may bestow
vpon the Gentlemen in your companie, in a token of per-
petuall loue and friendship.

Cortez receiued the present with thanks, because hee
would

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would not offend the giuer thereof. And so departed with their women riding behind them, with many Indian women to wait vpon them, and many Indian men to beare them companie, and to purney all things necessarie.

Things that happened to Cortez in Chiauiztlan.



The same day that they departed frō Zempoallan, they came to Chiauiztlan, and yet the ships were not arriued. Cortez marvelled at their long tarrying in so short a iourney. There was a village within shot of a bargabush, from the rocke called Chiauiztlan, standing vpon a hill. Cortez hauing little to do, went thither with his men, and the Indians of Zempoallan, who certified Cortez that the village was appertayning to a Lord oppressed by Mutezuma. They came to the foote of the hill, without sight of any man of the towne, except two, that Marina vnderstode not, and going by the hill, the hozsmen to fauour their hozses would alight, because the ascending was cragged and euill way. Cortez commaunded that they should not alight, because the Indians should thinke that there was no place high nor lowe, but that these hozses shoulde and coulde come vnto it. So by little and little they came into the towne, and finding no creature there, they feared some deceyfe, yet approaching further, they met with twelue auncient men, which bzought with them an interpreter, who vnderstode the language of Culhua and the speach of that place, which is the language of the Totonaquez, or inhabitants of the Mountaines. These auncient menne declared that the cause of their going out of
the

the towne, was because that they had neuer sene anye such men as the Spaniardes were, noz yet heard that any such had passed that way, wherefoze with feare they had fledde from thence. But (quoth they) when the Lord of Zempoallan aduertised vs, how you did hurt no bodye, but rather being a people good and peaceable, then we were well assured who ye were, when we saw you come toward vs. And we are now comen vnto you on the behalfe of the Lord, to bring you to your lodging.

Cortez gaue them thanks, and went with them to a certaine place where the Lord was abyding their comming well accompanied: he thewed vnto the Christians great good wil, and maruelled to see those straungers with their long beareds.

The Lord tooke a little chaffingdishe in his hande, and cast into it a certaine gum which sauoured in swete smell much like vnto fräkinse. And with a sencer he mocked Cortez, with the ceremony they vse their salutations to they gods and nobilitie.

This done they set them down, and Cortez enformed him of the cause of their comming into that country, as he had done in all other places where he had bin.

The Cacike certified Cortez euē as the Lord of Zempoallan had done, but he stood in great feare lest Mutezuma shoulde be offended for receyuing and lodging him with, in that towne, without his commaundement, and being in this communicatton, sodeinly appeared twentie men entring where they sate, wth certain wands like cudgels in their hāds, which did signifie y they were rent gatherers, and in ech other hand, a flye flap of fethers, the Cacike & his company were soze afraide. Cortez demaunded wherefoze he so altered himself, he answered, bicause these twety Indians were collectors of Mutezuma, and that he feared that they would complayne of him, hauing founde those

A strange
salutation.

A strange
hap.

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Christians there, hee feared likewise cruell punishment for the same. Cortes comforted him, saying that Mutezuma was his friend, and that he wold so vse the matter that he should receiue no blame at all, but rather that Mutezuma should giue him thanks for that which he had done: And if Mutezuma did not, or would not so accept it, that then he wold defend both him and his subiects, for (quoth he) euery one of my me is sufficient for a thousand Mexicans, as Mutezuma himselfe was well enformed by the late warres at Potonchan.

Yet for and notwithstanding all this talke, the Lorde and all his folke were in great feare, and meant to arise and to lodge the receiuers. Cortes would not suffer him, and because (quoth he) thou shalt see what I and my men can do, commaund thy seruants to apprehend and take prisoners these receiuers of Mexico, and I wil abide here with thee, in such sort that Mutezuma with all his power shall not offend thee.

With the courage that hee receiued at these wordes, he commaunded to laie hand vpon the Mexicans, and because they defended themselves, they were sore beaten, and laide euery one in a severall prison, and bounde them to a great poste, whereat they were tied by the throate, fete and handes, and being in this sorte imprisoned, they asked of Cortes whether they should kill them. Cortes requested that they should not be slaine, but that they might remaine as they were, with good watch, that they might not escape. Then they were brought into a hall in the Spaniards lodging, and were placed round about a good fire, but yet bound hand and fete with gards of watchmen. Cortes also appointed certaine of his men to watche the hall doore, and then went to his lodging to supper, where he and his company was wel prouided at the Cazikes furniture,

The

the west India.

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The messages sent by Cortez vnto
Mutezuma.



The night being far spent, and the Indians that kept y watch being a sleepe, Cortez sent vnto the Spanyards that watched at the hall towre where y prisoners were, and commaunded them to let go two of the prisoners, as secretly as they might, and to bring them vnto him. The Spanyards handled y mat-

Pollicie.

ter so well, that they fulfilled his desire, and brought two of them to Cortes his chamber, who looked vpon them as though he had not knowen them, and willed Aguilar and Marina to demand who they were, and what they would haue, and why they had bin in prison. They answered, that they were vassals of Mutezuma, and y they had the charge to receiue certaine tributes, that those of that towne and prouince paide vnto their Lord. And also (quoth they) we know not for what cause we are now imprisoned and so cruelly bled. We rather wonder to see this new custom and maner, for in time past these men were wont to mete vs & receiue vs with great honour & curtesie, shewing all seruice and pleasure. Wherefore we thinke that the cause of this alteration is through the fauour of you & your company, who beare y name of immortality. We also feare least our felowes which are in prison shalbe slaine, before Mutezuma haue knowledge thereof. Also said they, these barbarous people dwelling in the Mountains, wold be glad to rebell if they found any succor or aide, only to put their Justice to rest and charges, as heretofore they haue done. Therefore they made humbly besought Cortes that hee should not permit them and their felowes to bee slaine,

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noꝝ yet to abide in the hands of their enemies wherein he should do singular pleasure to Muteſuma their Lord, and otherwiſe if they ſhould periſh, their Lord would be very ſorrowfull that his olde, faithfull, and truſtie ſervants, ſhould haue ſuch a reward foꝝ their good ſeruite.

A wiſe man.

Cortez answered that it græued him much, that Muteſuma his friend ſhould bee miſuſed where hee was, noꝝ yet his ſervants euill entreated, and that he would haue as much care ouer them as of his owne, willing them to pꝛaiſe the God of heauen, and to be thankfull vnto him that had commaunded them to be ſet at libertie, in the grace and friendſhip of Muteſuma, he certified that in all haſte they ſhould bee diſpatched foꝝ Mexico with certaine buſineſſe, therfoꝛe (quoth he) get you to meate, and make you ſtrong to take in hand that iourney, truſting to your ſæte, leaſt ye ſhould be taken againe to your great perill and daunger, Thus their meate was ſone eaten with the great haſte they had to be gone.

Cortez brought them out of the ſolwe and gaue them victuall to carry with them. And charged foꝝ the libertie and curteſie ſhe wed vnto them, that they ſhould ſignifie to Muteſuma their Lord, how that hee was his aſſured friend, and that after he had vnderſtanding of his ſame, goodnes and mightie power, he much deſired to ſerue him, yea and that he helde himſelfe happie, to finde himſelfe of ſuch a time and ſeaſon to loſe thoſe his ſervants, and to ſhew therein his good will, likewiſe he would do all that lay in him to preſerue the honoꝝ and authoritie of ſo great a Prince as hee was, and alſo to defende his ſubiects, and to looke to his affaires as his owne proper, although his highneſſe did little eſtreme his friendſhippe, as appeared by Teudilli, who departed from him without bidding him farewell, and likewiſe abſenting all the people of the ſea coaſte, yet this notwithstanding hee would not let

let to doe him seruice at all times when occasion shoulde serue, and to procure by all meanes possible his grace, fauour, and friendship, and that hee was fully perswaded, that his highnesse woulde not refuse his good will and friendship, considering that with his acquaintance, God had done much for him, to make with a seruauant of the Emperours, for thereby he might know great secrets of holy things, and also receiue great benefites, if then hee wold refuse the same, the fault should be his: but yet notwithstanding hee trusted in his wisdom, that considering the thing well, he would be glad both to see him, and talke with him, and also to be friend and brother with the King of Spaine, in whose happie name, both he & his company were come thither. And as touching his seruauants that remained in prison, he would so vse the matter, that they should escape all perill, promising also to set them at libertie to pleasure him, and that incontinent hee would haue done it, but onely because hee would not offende the Lord of the Towne, who had friendly entertained him with great curtesie, for which cause hee woulde not presume to controll him in his owne house, nor yet to shewe himselfe vnthankfull. The messengers departed with this message very glad and ioyfull, promising to accomplish faithfully the charge committed vnto him.

The confederacie and rebellion done by the industrie of Cortez.



When the Caziike founde missing ʒ two prisoners, he blamed much ʒ guard or watch, & pretended forthwith to murder those that remained. Then came Cortez, and requested that their death shuld be pardoned, for so much as they were

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were but officers obedient to their lord and maister, and according to iustice they had committed no offence, nor yet deserued any correction in the fact, which was seruice to their King: but say so much as they shall not doe as the other two haue done, deliuer them vnto me, and I will take them to my custodie and charge.

Upon this request the eightene prisoners were deliuered vnto Cortez, who sent them aboord his shippes, and there commaunded them to bee put in yrons. The Royce and his counsellors fearing what might followe, entred into counsell what was best to doe, considering that they certainly beleued that the two prisoners which were escaped, would certifie in Mexico the shame and cruell entertainment done vnto them. Some replied that it was iust and requisite to sende vnto Mutezuma his tribute, with other presents, to mittigate his anger, and to excuse them, and accuse the Christians, who were the causes of the apprehension of his officers, and to craue pardon of their error and oversight which they had committed as madde men, in dishonour of the maiestie of Mexico. Others answered againe, that it were much better to cast off that yoke of bondage and slauerie, and to giue no longer obedience to the Mexicans, who were both cruel and wicked tyrants, and also considering that now they had on their side those halfe Gods, and invincible hoysmen, saying like wise that they should not want many others their neighbors and borderers to help and succour them.

Diners opinions
in counsell

In this sort they resolued themselves fully to rebell, and not to lose so good an occasion, wherevppon they besought Hernando Cortez to be their defender and Captain, considering that for his sake they had begun that enterprize, and whether Mutezuma should prepare his armie agaynst them or no, yet they on their part were fully

fully pretended to hold him warre, and to desist from seruitude.

God knoweth how glad Cortez was to heare this matter, for he well wyped that it was the high way to his iourneys ende: yet dissembling the cause, he answered that they would well looke to the thing which they meant to take in hand, because (quoth he) I vnderstande that Mutezuma is a mightie Prince, but if ye will valiantly proceede, I will be your Captaine, and safely defende you, for I doe more esteeme your friendship, then the good will of Mutezuma, which I nothing care for: therefore let mee knowe what number of men of warre ye are able to make. Sir (quoth they) among all our friends wee are able to make a hundred thousande menne of warre. I like that well (quoth Cortez) wherefore incontinent sende your postes, with aduice vnto all your friends in league agaynst Mutezuma, and certifie them (quoth he) that I stand in neede of your helpe, for I alone with my companie, are able to stande agaynst those of Culhua, although there were as many more, but reason required that they shoulde be warned of your pretence, and to be in readinesse for the same, fearing least Mutezuma might send his armie vpon a sudden, and find you vnprouided.

With this aduice and encouragement of Cortes, and also they themselves being a people heauie, and of small consideration, they dispatched incontinent their messengers to al the townes and villages of neighbours and friends, aduertising them what they had determined, exalting the straungers aboue the cloudes.

And by this meanes rebelled many Cacikes, and townes, and al the whole mountains, so that there was not left any collector or other officer in Mexico in al those borders,

with

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with open proclamation of warres against Mutezuma, and all his adherents.

Cortez his intent was on the other side, to stir by these Indians, to get both their goods, willes, and landes, for otherwise, he could not well bring his matter to passe: he only caused the officers of Mutezuma to bee taken prisoners, and to be loosed againe, he sained a great loue to Mutezuma, and stirred his subiects against him, he offered to be their defendour, and left them rebelled, to the intent that they should stand in neede of him.

The foundation of the riche Towne called Vera Crux.

At this instant the Flöete was arriued at the port, then went Cortez to visite them, and carried with him many Indians of the Rebels, both of y^e towne, and also of Zempoallan, who did good seruice to cut downe timber, and to carry stones to the place appointed, for the building of the Citie, named the rich Towne of Vera Crux, according to the determination, when the officers were appointed for the same, and chosen in S. Iohn de Vlhua, and in good order made repertition to the inhabitants of the ground, and plottes to build vpon.

They appointed also a place for the high Church, a Market place, a Towne house, a Gayle, store houses, a Bay or Wharfe, to lade or unlade, a butcher row, & other places necessary to the good gouernement and pollicie of a Towne. They also drew out a plot to build the Castle or Fort on, neare the roade in a place conuenient, and in this sort began their worke, and their houses made with mudwall, for the earth there is good for that purpose. And euery man being thus occupied in this new worke,
came

came from Mixico two kinsmen of Mutezuma, with other foure graue learned menne for Councillours, and many seruing men that attended vpon them, as Ambassadors, from Mutezuma, they presented vnto Cortez cer-
 tayne cloth of Cotten well wouen, and feathers curi-
 ously and finely wzoughte, other pæces of golde and sil-
 uer wzought, and a Casket of graines of golde, as they
 were founde in the Pyres not molten, which wayed al-
 together two thousand & ninetie Castlins, and said y Mute-
 zuma hadde sente him the golde in the Casket, to cure
 theyr discale, and woulde gladly knowe how they sa-
 red, giuing also vnto him most hartie thanks, for losing
 his two houtholde seruauntes, and preserving the others
 from slaughter, besieching him to make accompte, that
 he woulde doe the like in anye affayres of his, desiring
 him also to procure the libertie of the other eyghtene
 Prisoners: and because those Indians hadde entertayned
 him well in their houses, he did pardon theyr vppore,
 yet notwithstanding he knewe very well that they were
 suche a kinde of people, that in shorthe space they woulde
 committe some other offences, whereby they might bee
 chastened for all together euen as a Dogge deserueth
 stripes. And as concerning the rest of his request,
 theyr Lorde was not well at ease, and also occupied in
 matters of warre of great importaunce, whereby at
 that presente, there was no remedie to visit eache other,
 but in proesse of time his desire shoulde be accompli-
 shed.

Cortez welcommed them friendly and ioyfully, and al-
 so lodged them in Cottages nere vnto the water side, and
 sent forthwith for the Lorde of Chiantzilan, that had re-
 belled, who came at his commandement. Cortez sayd vnto
 him, lo se what troth I haue vsed with thee, for Mutezu-
 ma dareth not to send any army, no nor yet displease anye

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person where I am. Therefore from this daye forwarde you and all youre lignage and friendes maye accompte your selues free and exempt from the seruitude of Mexico, without rendering the tributes accustomed. He requested to set at libertie the prisoners, and to ressoze them to the Ambassadors of Mutezuma. This Cazike willed Cortes, to doe what pleased him, for saide he, euen as we haue chosen you for oure Captaine, we will not excede one iote of youre commaundemente: where vpon hee returned home to his towne, and the Ambassadors toward Mexico, all pleased and content.

Polve same flew abzoade, blazing that Mutezuma feared the Christians, where vpon all the Tetonagues prepared themselves for the warres, taking cleane awaie from Mexico, their tribute and obedience.

The Ambassadors departed from Cortes with the prisoners, and manye other things that were given them, of linnen, wollen, skinnes, glasse, and yron, being greatly amazed at the things which they had seene.

How Cortez tooke by force of armes

Tizapanfinca,



At long after y these things had hap-
pened, the Indians of Zempoallan sent
vnto Cortez, to desire him of succor, a-
gainst y gariso of Culhua, which Mu-
tezuma maintained in Tizapanfinca,
who old greatly annoy the, in ipoyling,
burning, and destroying their cozne in
the fields, and slew their husbandmen,
and toke many prisoners. The Towne of Tizapanfinca,
doth confine with the Totonaquez and with y grounde of
Zempoallan, and is a good strong Towne, situated
nere

where the river, and hath a fort standing upon a high rocke. And because this towne was strong, and planted among them who were alwayes seditious and Rebelles, Mutezuma placed there his garrison, who seeing the officers of recepuers and auditours come flying thither for helpe, being persecuted of the rebels, they went out to pacifie the rebellion, and for to chasten them, they burned and destroyed whatsoever they found, and also had taken many prisoners.

Cortez hearing this newes, departed toward Zempoallan, and from thence in two dayes journey with a great army of Indians Tizapanfinca, which stood eight leagues and more from that citie.

The garrison of Culhua came into the field, thinking to haue had battell onely with those of Zempoallan, but when they sawe the horsemen, and the bearded men, they lost their courage, and beganne to flie as fast as they might possible: their succour being nere, they were sone in holde: they would haue entred into their Castell, but for the swiftnesse of the horses which stopped their way.

The valiant
courage of
Cortez.

And when the horses could not ascend vp vnto the fort, Cortez alighted with other foure of his men, and among the preasse of the townesmen got into the fort: and being within, they kept the doze till their companie came with many friends, vnto whom he deliuered the fort & towne, desiring to doe no hurt to the inhabitants, but to suffer them to depart freely without weapon and standard. It was a new world to those Indians, who did fulfill Cortez his commaundement in all paynts. This done, Cortez returned againe to the sea coast, by the same way which he had come.

This was the first victorie that Cortez had among the subjects of Mutezuma, whereby all the Aduntaynts

remained

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remained free from the vexations of the Mexicans, and all our men with great fame and reputation, as well among their friends, as among their enemies, in so much that after wardes when any neede did happen among the Indians, they wold immediately send unto Cortez for one of his men, saying, that one man alone of the Chrystians, was sufficient to be theyr Capitaine and securitie.

This was a good beginning for the pretence of Cortez. Nowe when hee came to Vera Crux with his company triumphantly, he founde there Francisco de Salzeda, who was come with his caruell whiche he had boughte of Alôso Cavallero, a dweller in Saint Iames de Cuba, and was left there to be grounded and dyessed at his departure from thence. He brought with him .70. Spanyardes, and nine Voyles and Bares, where with they all maruelously reioyced.

The presents that Cortez sent to the
Emperour for his fiste.



Cortez made great hast in building up the new town and the Castle, because the Citizens and souldiers might haue succoure againste winde and rayne, and commoditie of household, and likewise to be assured of defence againste enemies if neede should happen, pretending likewise withall expedition, to enter within the land toward Mexico, to visit Mutezuma, and to leaue in that new waye all thing in good order, he finished many things, touching as well the peace as the warre.

the vvest India.

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Hee commaunded to bee brought a lande out of his ships all the armour and other furniture for the warres, with the Merchandise, victuall, and other provision, and to deliuer it to the rulers of the newe Cittie, according to his promise. He also signified vnto all his company that it was mete and conuenient, to sende relation to the King of all their proceedings and dealings in that countrey, with demonstration of Golde and Siluer there founde.

And (quoth he) to deale vprightly in this case, it is necessary to diuide equally our treasure to every man his portion, according to the vse of the warres, the diuision being made, then first and principally lette vs deduct the Kings sift part. And for the better performance thereof, I doe name and appoynt Alonsa de Auila Treasurer for the King, and also I doe elect Gonfalo Mexia Treasurer of the arme.

All the new Magistrates ratified his sayings, and allowed his discretion and wisdom, praising the election of the new officers as men most mete for such an office, and besought them to accept their charge.

This diligence done, he commaunded to bring forth into the market place all the goods and treasure whiche they had gotten, as well cloath of Cotten, Feathers, Golde, and Plate, which mought amount vnto in value the summe of 27000. Ducates: The same he caused to be deliuered vnto the newe elected Treasurers by account, requesting the whole council of the Citie that they should make diuision thereof. The counsellours and communalitie replied, saying: Sir, here is nothing to diuide, for deducting the sift part which appertaineth to the King, all the rest shall be to make payment for the furniture which you prepared for this voyage, and you being satisfied, then the ships, munition and furniture, shall serue in common

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for vs all, beseeching him with one assent to take all the treasure, and to sende vnto the Kings Maiestie his portion of fiffe part, euen as should seme most conuenient vnto him.

Liberalitie
of Cortez.

Cortez replied and saide, that time hereafter should serue to pay him according to their gentle offer: But for this present time my louing fellowes (quoth he) I will receiue no more then the share or portion that apperteyneth vnto my office of generall Captaine, and all the rest shall be for the Gentlemen of my company, where with ye may begin to make payment of your debts, which ye ought when ye made your prouision to come with me on this voyage.

And where I haue appointed certain things to send to the King, of more value then his fift part, it might please them, for as much as they were such things as could not be well diuided, and likewise the first fruite of that Conquest, freely to giue him libertie to vse his discretion in that onely poynt. They all in generall graunted to his request, whereupon he tooke out of the Stocke, these things following.

Inuentarie.



First the two wheelles of golde and silver, which Hendilh presented vnto him on the behalfe of Mutezuma.

A collar of gold of eight peeces, whereat hanged a hundred and foure score and thye little Emeraldes,

and two and thirtie little redde Stones, like vnto Rubies,

bies of small value : there hanged at the same collar seven and twentie little belles of gold, and certain beads of pearle.

Another collar of foure doubled twiste, with a hundzeth and two Rubies, and a hundzeth and scuentie and two Emeraldes, and tenne good pearles well sette, and for border or fringe sixe and twentie belles of golde : both those collers were beautifull to beholde, and had many other fine things wrought in them, then is here declared.

Many graynes of golde of the bignesse of a pease, such as they were founde.

A Casket of graynes of golde of the same sorte.

A Helmet of woodde champed with golde and besette with stones, and the beauer fine and twentie belles of golde, and vpon the toppe a greene birde, with his eyes, beake, and feete of golde.

A sallet of planches of golde, and belles rounde aboute it, decked with stone.

A bracelet of golde of small weight.

A rodde like vnto a roiall Scepter, with two rings of golde hanging thereat, garnished with pearle.

Four forkes with three thephokes at ech, couered with feathers of sundry colours.

Many payres of shoes made of Deere skinner, sowed with golde threede, and in the soales, were sette certaine stones of colour white and blew, which shined faire.

Sixe paire of Letherne shoes of diuers colours, garnished with gold, silver, and pearle.

A Target of wood couered with leather, be set round about with belles of Latton, and the boss in the midst was

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was planced with gold, and there was engraue^d by
on the same Vitilopucthli, God of the warres, and also
four heads set crossewise, which heades were of a Li-
on, a Tigre, an Eagle, and an Owle, very liuely made
with feathers.

Many skinn^es of beast and soule, curried and dres^sed in
their feathers and in haire.

Four and twentie targets of gold feathers, and set with
pearle, both curious and gallant to behold.

Five targets of feathers and siluer,

Four fishes of gold well wrought.

Two birds called Anades, and other birds of gold.

Certaine Hatches and a rod of latten.

Diuers looking glasses garnished with gold.

Many Byters and Crownes of gold & feathers, wrought
of many colours, beset with pearle and stone.

Many faire feathers of sundry colours.

Many tusses of feathers adorne^d with siluer and gold.

A garment like a coape of cotten, wouen of sundry co-
lours, and in the middelt a blacke whele made of fea-
thers.

Many surplices, vestments, palles, frontals and orna-
ments of Idols, Altars and Temples.

Many coverlets of cotten, of diuerse colours, which shew-
ed like unto bisho^psorne veluet.

Many Shirtes, Jackettes, headclothes, and other nape-
rie.

Many Carpets and hangings of cotten.

All these things were moze beautiful then rich, althogh^t
the wheles were very rich, the workmanship of all the
rest, was moze worth then the thing it selfe. The colours
of the cloth of cotten wool was exceeding fine, and the fea-
thers naturall.

The pounced worke in gold and siluer did excede our
gold,

goldsmiths, of which things we will write in an other place. They ioyned with this present certaine Indian booke of figures which serue to their vse for letters: these booke are folden like vnto clothes, and written on both sides. Some of these booke were made of cotton & glew, and others were made of leaues of a certaine tree called Helt, which serue for their paper, a thing straunge to behold.

Strange paper

At that time the Indians of Zempoallan had many prisoners to sacrifice: Cortez demanded them to send vnto the Emperour, but the Indians desired him to pardon them, for if we so do (quoth they) we shall offend our gods, who will take away our corne, and children from vs, yea, and also our liues in so doing.

Yet notwithstanding, Cortez tooke foure of them, and two women which were all yong and lustie.

But it was verie strange to see those that should be sacrificed, how they were trimmed and deckt with feathers, and went dauncing through the Citie, asking almes for their sacrifice & death. It was also strange to see the offerings that were giuen them. They had at their ears hanging, rings of gold beset with Turky Stone, and likewise other rings at their lips, which shewed their teeth bare, a grieufully sight to see, but yet esteemed among them a thing beautifull.

Letters from the armie and Magistrates of the new towne, directed to the Emperour.



When this present and fift part was layde aside for the king, Cortez required 8 magistrates to name and appoint two attornyes, to carry the Emperours portion vnto Spaine. And that he for his part would

And

giue

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giue vnto them his full power, and letter of attourney, with also one of the best Shippes for that voyage.

The Councell of the newe Towne chose Alonso Fernandez Portocarero, and Francisco de Monteio for that iourney: whereof Cortes was verie glad, and gaue them Antonio de Alominos for their pilot, with gold and plate sufficient for turne and returne of the voyage. Cortez gaue them instructions what they shoulde doe particularly for him in the Court of Spaine, as also in Cinill, and the towne where he was borne. He sent to his father and Mother certaine money, with newes of his prosperitie: hee sent also with them the ordinaunces and actes instituted, and wrote by them a large Letter to the Emperour, in the which hee gaue full aduertisement of all things, which hadde passed from the tyme of his departure from the Ilande of Cuba, vntill that day, and of the disorde betwene him and James Velasques, and of their great trauaile and paines, with the great good will which they all bare vnto his royall seruice: hee certified likewise of the riches of that Countrey, with the Haieslie and power of Mutezuma.

Hee offered to bring in subiection vnto his royall Crowne and state of Castill, all that Empire, and to winne also the great Citie of Mexico, and to bring that mightie king Mutezuma to his handes quicke or dead. Beseeching the Emperours Haieslie to haue him in remembraunce when offices and prouisions shoulde bee sent vnto that newe Spaine lately discovered at his great costes, and in recompence of his paines and trauell.

The Councell and Magistrates of Vera Cruz wrote also.

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also two Letters to the Emperour, the one was touching the succeſſe of their proceedings in his royall ſervice. In that Letter, went onely the Aldermens firmes, and Judges.

The other Letter was ſigned by the generalitie and chiefest of the armie, the contents whereof was in ſubſtance, that they ſhould holde and keepe that towne and Countrey worne, in his royall name, or end their lines in the quarrell, if his Maieſtie did not otherwiſe determine.

A good protestation.

They alſo moſt humble beſought him, that the government thereof, and of all that hereafter ſhould bee conquered, might bee given to Hernando Cortez their guide, generall Captaine, and chiefe Juſtice by them elected and choſen, ſaying, that wel he had deſerved the ſame, for that he alone ſpent more then the whole armie upon that journey. And that it might pleaſe his maieſty to confirm that, which they generally of free will had done for their owne ſafegard and ſecuritie, in the name of his royall Maieſtie.

And if by chaunce his Maieſtie had alreadie given the ſayde office of government to any other perſon, that it might pleaſe him to revoke it.

For ſo ſhould it be expedient for his ſervice, and quietneſſe of the countrey. And thereby might bee excuſed, rumours, ſlanders, perils, and ſlaughters, that might enſue, if any other ſhould govern and rule as Captaine generall.

And moreover, they beſought his Maieſtie to graunt them anſwere with brevitie, and good diſpatch of their Attourneys, who departed from the port of Aguſhuſtan in a reaſonable ſhip, the twentieth daye of Julie.

Anno. 1519.

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They touched by the way at Marien a port of Cuba, declaring that they went to Hauana: they passed through the chanell of Bahama without disturbance, and sayled with a prosperous winde, till they arrived in Spaine.

The cause why the generalltie had written these letters was, suspecting Iames Velasques, who had friends and great fauour in the Court and counsell of Indians, and also some secret friends in Cortes his campe. For Francisco Salzedo brought newes that Iames Velasques had already obtained a grant of the Emperour for the gouernment of that land, by the meanes of one Bonito Martinez going into Spaine. And although they knew not the certainty thereof, yet it was most true, as shall appear in another place.

An vprere among the souldiers agaynst
Cortes, and the punishment
for the same.



There were some in the host that murmured against the election of Cortes, for thereby was excluded Iames Velasques, unto whom they bare good will. Some were Velasques friends, and other some his kinsfolks, who letted not to say openly that Cortez by flatterie, subtiltie and gifts, had gotten and obtained his purpose.

And that the dissimulation in making him selfe to bee entreated and prayed to accept that charge and office, was a thing craftily feigned, whereby such election coulde not bee of any value, and chiefly without any such authoritie of the Ierome Friars dame, who

who ruled and governed the Indians as chief presidents: how much more they hadde newes that Iames Velasques had already obtained the gouernement of that land, and Yucatan. When Cortez began to vnderstand in these matters, and made information who had rayled by this murderation, and being knowne, he apprehended the chiefest, and sent them prisoners aboarde his Ship: and to mislike their wrath, he shortly released them againe, the which afterwards was cause of more mischief, for these his enemies would haue fledde with a Tergantine and killed the maister, pretending to flye vnto the Ilande of Cuba, for to aduertise Iames Velasques of the great presēt Mischiefe. sent vnto the Emperour, to the intent it should be taken from their Attozners passing nere the port of Hauana, with all the letters and relations of their businesse, because the Emperour should not see it, to conceine well of their proceedings. Then Cortez began to be agréued in earnest, and apprehended diuers of them, whose confessions being taken, the matter was manifestly knowen to be true, and there vppon according to the processe, hee condemned those that were most culpable, and caused forthwith two of them to be hanged, who were Iohn Escudero, and Iames Cermenio pilot, and condemned Gonfalo de Vmbria, and Alonso Penate to be whipped, & instant execution was done, all the rest being pardoned.

Two hanged,
and two whipped.

With this correction Cortez was more feared, and also esteemed, than before he was, for certainly if he hadde vsed gentlenesse, he should neuer haue tamed them, yea and if he had not looked to them in time, he had bene spoiled: for their presence was, to haue aduertised Iames Velasques, who would haue prevented them of their Shippes and present, and yet afterwarde he sente a Caruell after the said Ship, although it were too late.

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Cortez caused all his shippes to be sunke, and broken vpon the shore, a most worthy fact.



Cortez purposed to go vnto Mexico, and would not giue his Souldiers to vnderstand it, because they should not refuse the iourney, through the talke of Teudilli, especially hearing that citie of Mexico was situated vpon water, which they imagined to be exceeding strong, as in effect it was: & to the

A famous fact.

intent that they should all followe him, although against their willes, he determined to spoile all his ships, which was a strange case, perillous, and a great losse. His intent thoroughly weyed, he little esteemed the losse of his ships to withstand his men from disturbance of his enterprise, for doubtlesse they would haue staied him, yea and rebelled, if they had knowen his mind and pretended purpose. He did secretly accord with one of the maisters of his Fleet in the night season to boze holes in them, that thereby they might sinke, without any remedie to recover them againe.

Also he requested the other Maisters and Pilotes to publish among the army, that the ships were so rotten and wormeaten, that they were not fit to go to sea againe, and that they should, when they chanced to espie him and many of his Souldiers togither, come and certifie him openly of the estate and force of the said ships, because that afterwarde they should not lay any fault to his charge.

According to this instruction, the Pilotes and maisters did accomplishe his commandement: for shortly after, they espied him among a flocke of his companie, and then came they vnto him, saying: Sir, your name is
not

not to make anie more voyages, by reason that they are all leake, and spoiled, rotten, and woymeaten, wherefore according to our duetie, we do certifie you thereof, to provide therein as you shall see cause. All the Souldiers gaue credite to their tale, because the ships had ben there more than three monethes. And after long talke about the matter, Cortes commaunded that they shoulde profite themselves by them the best that they might, and as for Hulles, let them sinke or runne a shoare, faining great sorow for so great a losse, and want of such provision. And in this manner they let runne a shoare five of the best Shippes, saving their Ordnance, Buttails, Sailes, Cables, Ankers, Ropes, and all other tackle: and shortly after they spoiled other foure vessels, but that was done with some difficultie, because they beganne to surmise the intent of Cortes, and beganne openly to say, Cortes meant to carrie them to the slaughter house. He then pacified them with gentle wordes, saying, what is hee that will refuse the warres in so riche a Countrey: if there bee any of you that will leaue my companie, he or they may (if it please them) returne to Cuba in a Shippe that yet remaineth. And this he spake, to knowe how many were the cowardes, meaning in time of needs to haue no trust or confidence in them. Then diuers shamelesse persons demanded licence to returne to Cuba, but they were such as loved no warres. There were also others that said nothing, who woulde gladly haue returned, seeing the greatnesse of the Countrey, and the multitude of the people, but yet they were ashamed to shewe cowardise openly.

Cortes knowing his souldiers mindes, commaunded the other Ship to be sunke, so that then they were all without hope to go out of that Countrey at that time, exalting
and

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and praising the noble minde of Cortez shewed in that worthe fact. Certainly it was a dede necessary for the present time, and done by the iudgement of a stout Capitaine, although hee lost much by his shippes, and abode without succour of the sea. There are fewe of these examples, which are not of valiant personages, as was Omeiz Barbaroza with the cut arme, who a few yeares past brake seuen Gallies and Foyls, to winne therby Bugia, as largely I do write thereof in battailes of the sea in our dayes.

How the inhabitants of Zempoallan brake
downe their Idolles.

Every day seemed long to Cortez, with the desire to see Mutezuma. He now beganne to publish openly his journey and departure, and chose out of the bodie of his hoste a hundreth and fiftie men, which he thought sufficient to leaue for safegarde of the newe towne and fort, which was almost finished, and appointed Pedro de Hircio their Capitaine, leauing with them two hozses, and two small peces of Ordnance, with many Indians to serue them, and fiftie Townes rounde about them in faithfull friendship and league, out of the which Townes they might alwayes haue at their neede fiftie thousande men of warre: and he departed with the residue of his Spanyarden towarde Zempoallan, which might bee foure leagues from thence, and was scarcely come to the Towne, when newes was brought him that foure shippes of Francisco Garraay sayled along his coast, and were in sight of Vera Crux. With this newes he returned incontinent with a hundreth of his men, suspecting euill of those shippes. At his comming to Vera Crux,

Newes for
Cortez.

Cruz, his Captaine there enforced him how he had gone himselfe to know what they were, and from whence they came, and what they would, but could speake with none of them. Cortez being informed how they roade at anker, toke Captaine Hircio and certaine of his company to expect their comming a shoze, suspecting them muche, because they roade so farre off, being by signes and tokens willed to come into the Harboz. Cortez hauing wandered neare thre miles, mette with thre Spatarides whiche came from the shippes, the one of them saide that he was a Potary, and the other two were to serue for witnesses in their affaires, which was, to asste and notifie certaine writings, whiche they shewed not: and also to require Cortez by vertue of the same, to come and make repartitiō of that countrey with Captaine Garay their generall, for their said Captaine presented that conquest (as first discoverer of the same,) certifying moreouer that hee was determined to inhabite twentie leagues distāt from that place Westwarde, neare vnto Nahucan, whiche now is called America. Cortez answered, that they should return vnto their shippes, and to will their Captaine to come to Vera Cruz with his familie, and there they would commune togither aboute his comming, and if he stood in neede of any thing it shoulde be prouided. And if it were (as they reported) that he was comen on the Kings affaires, he woulde gladly fauour his proceedings, considering that he and all his were there in seruice of his highnesse, how muche more being all of one nation.

They answered, that in no wise their captaine nor none of his army would come ashore, nor yet come where as Cortes was. With this answer Cortes understod y matter, and layde holde of them, and went and placed himself in ambushe behinde a little hill of sande, whiche stood right ouer against the shippes, being neere sunne set, and

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kept there that night till day approached, and the morning farre spent, hoping that Garay his Pilote or some of his company would come ashore, meaning likewise to apprehend them, for to be certified what course they had made, and what hurt they had done, and finding them guiltie, to send them prisoners into Spaine, likewise he desired to know whether they had spoken with any vassals of Mutezuma, and seeing they came not a land his suspicion was the greater.

A wise practice.

Cortez commaunded three of his men to chaunge apparel with the three messengers that came from Garay, and this done, caused them to goe to the sea side, waunting with clothes, and calling for the shippe boate, now those of the shippes thought by their apparel that they were their owne men, and came with a dozen persons in the skiffe, with Crossebowes and Handgunnes. Then Cortez his men which were cloathed in other mens garments, hidde themselves among bushes, as who would say, they were gone into the shadowe, for to flee from the great heate of the Sun, being at that time high noone, and because they should not be knowne.

The Mariners of the Skiffe set a lande two men with Hargabushes, and other two men with Crossebowes, and an Indian who went straightway to the bushes, thinking to find their fellowes. Then kept forth Cortes and caught them befoze they could gette aboard the Skiffe, although they meant to haue defended themselves, so that one of them who was a Pilote, hauing his Hargabushes ready charged, & wold haue shot at captain Hircio, and assuredly if his match and powder had bene good he had slaine him. When the generall aboard the ships perceiued this deceit, wold abide no longer, & commaunded to make saile, not tarrying for his skiffe. By these seuen men taken at two times Cortes was satisfied, & also certified how captain Garay sayled

sailed along the coast seeking Florida, and arrived in a river, the King of that province was called Panuco, where they founde little golde, bartering aboard their shippes, all their golde passed not thre thousande Castellins, but in exchaunge of things of small value, nothing contented Garay on that voyage, because the quantitie of golde was small and not fine.

With this newes Cortez returned to Zempoallan with his men which he brought in his company: and there concluded and fully agreed with those Indians, to pull downe their Idols & Sepulchres of their Cazike, which they did reverence as Gods, perswading them to worship the God of heauen. And after this doctrine their league of friendship was effectually established, and with other townes adioyning against Mutezuma. Those Indians gaue vnto him gages to bee alwaies faithfull of word and promise, and offered vnto him as many men fit for warre and seruice as he wold require. Cortez receiued the gages which were of the principallest persons of the townes, as Mamexi Teuch, & Tamalli, he tooke also a thousand Tamemes, that is to say, men that are carriers, who ordinarily taketh his burden vpon his backe which is halfe a hundreth waight, and those fellows followe the campe with their bag and baggage: These men serued for horses to draw the ordnance, and to carry other munition and victualls.

How Olintec exalted the mightie power
of Mutezuma.

Cortez departed from Zempoallan, leauing y^e towne named Suillia, toward Mexico, the sixtene day of August of the same yeare, with 400 Spaniards and 15 horses, & 6 peeces of ordnance, & 1300 Indians with the carriers & men of Cuba. And whē Cortez departed from
Zempoallan,

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Zempoallan, he had not one bassall of Mutezuma in his campe, to lead them the way toward Mexico, for al were stricke, leaving the new league, or else by commandement of their Lord, & the Indians of Zempoallan knew not well the way.

The first three daies journey the army passed through countrey of their friendes, and were lovingly receiued and lodged, especially in Xalapan. The fourth day they came to Sicuchimatl, which is a strong place situated on a hill side very craggy, and the way to passe thereunto is made with force of mans hande as a steyre. And if the inhabitants thereof would haue resisted the entrance, with great difficultie both footemen & horsemen might haue entred the towne, but as afterwarde appeared, they were commaunded by Mutezuma to lodge them and also to honour them. The rulers of that towne saide to Cortez, that for as muche as he wente to visite their Prince Mutezuma, he should assure himselfe that they were and would be his friendes. This towne hath many villages and farmes beneath in the playne, for Mutezuma was alwaies prouided there of 5000. men of warre.

Cortez gaue great thanks to the Lord for his curtesie and good entertainment, muche esteeming the good will of his Lord Mutezuma, and so departed from thence, and wente to passe ouer amountaine very high, the passage wherof he named Nombre de dios, because it was the first that he had passed, being so asperous and highe, that there is none suche in all Spaine, for it contained directly vpright three leagues, and hath in many places grapes and trees with honie. And disending downe on the other side of that hill, they came to a towne called Theuhixuacan, which is a forte and friende to Mutezuma, where our army was receiued and entertained as in the other towne behinde.

And

And from thence he travelled three dayes in a countrey inhabitable, and passed some necessitie of hunger, & much more of thirst, because all the water that they founde was saltish, and many of his men for want of other, dranke thereof, whereof they fell into sicknesse: and suddenly fell a marvellous haile, with great colde, which increased their grief, yea, and the Indians of their company thought there to end their liues, & some of the Indians of Cuba died there through nakednesse, not being accustomed to so cold a countrey. After the fourth iourney of euill way, they ascended by an other hill, and vpon the top thereof, (to their iudgement) they found a thousande Cart loades of wood readie cut, neare to a little towne of idoles: they named that place the port of wood: and hauing passed two leagues from the port of wood, they found the Countrey barren, and poore, but sone after the armie came to a place which they named white Castell, because the Loyds house was of stone verie white and newe, and the best that they had seene in all that countrey, and so curiously wrought, that they marvelled thereat: that towne in their language is called Zaclotan, and the valley nere vnto it is named Zacatami, and the Loydes name is Olintec, who receiued Cortez honorably, and provided for him and his company abundantly, being so commanded by Mutezuma, as he reported afterward.

And in token that he had receiued that commission from his Lord, he commaunded fiftie men to be sacrificed for ioy, whose blood they saw new and fresh. The Townes men of that towne caried the Spaniards on their shoulders, on such beares as we carry dead men to Church. Cortez enformed them (by his interpreters) of the cause of his comming into that countrey, as he had vsed in other places, and demaunded whether the Lord of this towne were tributary to Mutezuma. This Cazike being amazed

A strange ioy.

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at his question, answered, saying: What is he that is not
 eyther slaue or bassall to the great Mutezuma. Then Cor-
 tez certified him, who and what the Emperour king of
 Spaine was, willing him to be his friend and seruitor,
 and further enquired if he had any gold to send him some.
 This Cazike answered that he would do nothing without
 the commaundement of his Lozde, nor yet sende his king
 any golde although he had inough. Cortez, dissimuled the
 matter, and helde his peace, yet by and by he desired to
 knowe the Paieftie and mightie power of Mutezuma,
 the Cazik, aunswered, that Mutezuma was Lozde of the
 whole worlde, and that he had thirtie Thassals who were
 able to make a. 100000. men of warre: eche one of them he
 also certified that he sacrificed. 20000. men yerely to his
 Goddes: And also his dwelling was in the most beauti-
 fullest and strongest citie of all that euer was enhabited,
 likewise (quoth he) his house and courte is most greate,
 noble, and replenished with Gentlemen, his riches incre-
 dible, and his charges excessive. And truly therein he
 saide the very troth, excepte in the sacrifice wherein he
 something enlarged, although the slaughter of men for sa-
 crifice in euery temple was very great, yea and some hold
 opinion, that some yeres were sacrificed aboue. 50000.
 men. Being in this conuersatio, came two Gentlemen of
 that valley to see the Spaniardes, and eche of them pre-
 sented vnto Cortes foure women slaues, & certaine collers
 of golde of small price. Olentec although he was bassall
 to Mutezuma, was a greate Lozde, and had. 20000. bas-
 sals, and thirtie wiues altogether in his house, beside a
 hundred other women that attended vpon them. And had
 for his gard a houshold. 2000. persons, his towne was
 great, & had 13. temples in it, & eche temple many idolls of
 stone of diuers fashions, befoze whom they sacrificed men,
 doves, quailles, & other things wth perfumes & great bene-
 ration.

the west India.

III

ration. In this place and territozie, Mutezuma had 5000 souldiers in garrison, and ordinarie postes from thence to Mexico. Untill this time, Cortes had not so ample vnderstande the might and power of Mutezuma, yea and though many inconueniences, difficulties, feare, and such like, did represent it selfe vnto him in his iourney to Mexico, which perhaps would haue amazed some valiant persons, yet hee shewed not one iote of cowardise, hauing heard such a report of that mightie Prince, but rather his desire was so much the more to see him.

Considering now that he should passe through Taxcallon, to go to Mexico, Taxcallon being a great & strong Citie, and warlike people, he dispatched foure Zempoallanezes to the Lords and Captaines of that Citie, on the behalfe of Zempoallan and his owne, offering vnto them his friendship and fauour, giuing them to vnderstande, that those selue Chyistians would come vnto their Citie to serue them, desiring the to accept the same, thinking assuredly that those of Tlaxcallon would haue done with him as the Zempoallanezes had don, which were both good and faithfull, who had alwaies vsed truth with him, euen so he thought that now he mought credit the, for they had enformed him, that the Tlaxcaltecas were their friends, and so would be his, considering that they were bitter enemies to Mutezuma, and willingly would goe with him to the siege of Mexico, with desire of libertie, and to revenge olde iniuries and griefes, which they had suffered many yeares befoze of the people of Culhua. Cortez refreshed himselfe in Zaclotan fine daics, where is a fresh river, and quiet folke, pulling downe the Idols, and placed a remembrance of Chyist crucified, as hee had done in all the townes that he had passed.

He tooke his leaue of Olinclie, leauing him wel pleased, & went to a towne 2 leagues from thence along the river side, where

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whereof was lord Iztacmixclican, one of the Gentlemen, who had given him the slaues and collers of gold.

This towne standeth in a plain ground of two leagues compasse, which is replenished with so many houses as doth seme to touch one another, in that way that our army passed: and the towne it selfe doth containe fise thousand householdes, standing on an hill, and on the one side thereof is the Lordes house with a strong fort, being the best yet sene in those parties, walled with good stone with burbucan and deepe ditch. There Cortez rested himselfe thre dayes, abiding the foure messengers which he sent from Zacloton, to knowe the answer that should be brought.

The first encounter that Cortez had with the men of Tlaxcallan.



A strange wall.

Cortez seeing the long taryng of the messengers, he departed from Zaclotan without any intelligence from Tlaxcallan. Our camp had not marched much after their departure from that place, but they came to a great circuite of stone made without lime or mortar, being a fadom and a halfe high, & twentie fote brode, with loope holes, to shote at: that wall crossed ouer all the vally, from one mountaine to another, and but one onely entrance or gate, in the which the one wall doubled, agaynst the other, and the way there was fourtie paces broad, in such sort, that it was an euill and perillous passage, if they had been there to defend it. Cortez demanded the cause of their circuite, and who had built it, Iztacmixclican that went to beare him companie, tolde him that it was but a diuision from their countrey and Tlaxcallan, and that their antecessors had made the same
to

the west India.

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to disturbe the entraunce of the Claxcaltecas in time of warre, who came to robbe and murther them, because of the friendship betwixte them and Mutezuma, whose vassals they were:

That strange and costly wall, seemed a thing of great maiestie to our Spaniards, and more superfluous then profitable, yet they suspected that the Traxcaltecas were valiant warriors, who had such defence made against them. And as Cortez and his army stood beholding this worke, Iztacmiltitan thought he had bin afraide to proceede forward, and prayed him (for so much as he was his Lordes friende) not to passe that way, nor yet throught the Countrey of Tlaxcallan, for so much as he wente to visit his maister, for (quoth he) if they knowe you to be my Lordes friende, they will seeke your displeasure, as they haue done to others, and I will provide you of guides to leade you continually throught the dominion of Mutezuma, where you shall be well receiued and provided, until you come to Mexico.

But Mamexi and the others of Zempoallan willed him to refuse that offer and counsell in any wise, alleadging that it was an onely pretence to separate them from the friendship of that prouince, whose people were good, honest, and valiant, and that Iztacmiltitans perswasion was, to prohibite theys helpe and succoure against Mutezuma, willing him earnestly to giue no credite unto his sayings, for he and his allyes are false Traytors, and meante to bring him into some snare, where they mighte kill both him and his company, and feede vpon their fleshe.

Cortez for a space was amazed at the talke of one and the other, but in conclusion he accepted the counsell of Mamexi, for that he hadde conceived a better opinion of the Zeampoallanezes his allyed friends, than of the others.

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thers. And setting all feare aside, hee tooke the way to Tlaxcallon, bidding Iztacmixelican farewell, & with thre hundred souldiers on a ranke, he entered the way in the wall, and proceeded in god order all the way forwarde, carrying the Ordinance readie charged, and hee himselfe the leader of all his army, yea and sometimes he would be halfe a league befoze them, to discouer and make the way plaine.

And hauing gone the space of thre leagues from that circuite, he commaunded his souldiers to make haste, because it was somewhat late, and hee with his Hozemen went to descrie the way forwarde, who ascending by a hill, two of the foremost hozemen mette with fiftene Indians armed with Swords and Targets and tuffes of feathers, which they vse to weare in the warres. These fiftene were spies, and when they sawe the Hozemen, they beganne to flie with feare, or else to giue aduice.

Then approached Cortes with other thre hozemen, calling to them to stay, but by no meanes they would abide: then fire hozemen ranne after them, and ouertooke them, and ioyned all together, with determination rather to die then to yelde, shewing them signes to stand still, yet the hozemen comming to laie handes on them, they prepared themselves to battayle, and fought, defending themselves for a while. In this fight the Indians slewe two of theyz hozes, and as the Spanyards doe witnesse, at two blowes they cutte off a hozes head, bzidle and all. Then came the rest of the hozemenne, and the Armie approached, for there were in sight neare fve thousande Indians in god order, to succour their fiftene fighting menne, but they came too late for that purpose, for they were all slaine with the anger that was taken for the killing of the two hozes.

horses, and woulde not render themselves in time: yet notwithstanding their fellows fought, untill they espyed oure Armie comming and the Ordinance, then they returned, leauyng the fælde to oure menne, but our horsemenne folloved them, and slewe about thre score and tenne persons of them, without receiuing any hurt.

His done, the Indians sente vnto Cortez two of the foure messengers which hadde bene sent thither befoze with other Indians, saying, that the Tlaxcaltecas knewe nothing of the things that were happened, certifying likewise that those with whome hee had foughte were of other communities, and not of their iurisdiction, being sorrowfull for that which hadde passed: and for so muche as it happened in theyr Countrey, they woulde willingly paie for the two Horses which were slaine, praying them to come in good time to theyr Towne, who woulde gladly receiue them, and enter into their league of friendship, because they seemed to bee valiant menne: but all was a sayned and a false message.

Yet Cortez belaued them, and gaue them thanks for their curtesie and good will, and that according to their request hee woulde goe vnto theyr Towne, and accept their friendship. And touching the death of his horses, he required nothing, for within short space he expected many moe: but yet God knoweth how sorrowfull he was for the want of them, and not only so much for them, as that the Indians shoulde thinke that horses could die, or be slaine.

Cortez proceeded forwarde aboute two leagues where the horses were killed, although it was almost sunneset, and his men wearied, having trauelled farre that day.

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His will was, to haue pitched his Campe in a strong place of water : wherefoze he planted his army by a Riuer side, whereas they remained all that night with good watche both of fote men and horsemen, fearing some assault: but there was no attempt giuen that night, where by they might haue taken better rest, then they were aware of.

How there ioyned a hundred and fiftie thousand men against Cortes.



The next morning at Sun rising, Cortes departed with his army in good order, and in the midst of them went the sardage and artillerie, and as soone as they were come to a litle vilage there nere at hand, they met with the other two messengers of Zempoallan, who departed frō them at Zaclotan: they came with pitifull chēer, exclaiming of the Captains of y^e power of Tlaxcallan, who had bounde them, and deseyning them from returning : but with good fortune, that night they hadde broken loose, and escaped, for other wise in the morning following, they had bin sacrificed to the God of Mictotzy, and after the sacrifice, to be eaten, for a good beginning of their warres, protesting the like to be done with the bearded men, and with as many as came with them.

They had no sooner tolde their tale, when there appeared behinde a littel hill about a thousande Indians, very well appointed after their fashion, and came with such a marvellous noyse and crie, as though theyr voyces shoulde haue pearced the Heauens, hurling at oure menne stones, dartes, and shotte with bowes and arrows.

Cortes

Cortes made many tokens of peace vnto them, and by his interpreters desired them to leaue the battell. But so much the moze as he entreated for peace, the moze haffie and earnest were they, thinking either to haue overcome them, or else to holde them play, to the intent that the Spaniards should haue followed them to a certaine ambush that was prepared for them, of moze then 80000. ^{80000. men.} men, which they had planted in a craeke of a riuer which abutted vpon the high way. When our men began to cease from wordes, and to lay hande vpon their weapons, for that companie of a thousand, were as many, as on our side were fighting men, they were well practised in the warres, very valiant, and also pitched in a better place for fight. This battell endured certaine houres, and at the ende the Indians being either wearied, or else meaning to take our men in the snare appointed, began to flie toward their maine battell, not as overcome, but to toyne with their owne folke. And our men being hote in the fight and slaughter which was not little, followed them with all their sardage, and vnwares fell into the ambush as ^{Second battell} Second battell among an infinite number of Indians armed, they stayed not because they would not put themselues out of order, and passed thzough their campe with great haffe & feare. The enemies began to set vpon the horsemen, thinking to haue taken their lances from them, their courage was so stout: many of the Spaniards had their perished, had it not bin for the Indian friends. Likewise the courage of Cortes did much animate them, for although he ledde his armie making way, yet diuerse times, he turned him backe to place his men in order, and to comfort them, and at length came out of that dangerous way into the plaine field, where the horses mought helpe, and the ordinance stonde in stæde, which two things did greatly annoy the enemy to their great wonder and maruell, and

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at the fight thereof began to lie.

In both encounters remained many Indiansaine, and wounded, and of the Spaniards some were hurt, but none killed, giving most heartie thanks vnto God for their deliuerie from so great a multitude of Indians their enemies, with much ioy and pleasure of the victorie. Then they went to pitch their campe in a Village called Teocazinco, where was a little tower and a temple, and there fortified themselves, and buylt Cottages of bowes and straw. The Indians of Zempoallan, and these of Iztacmiltican, did play the valiant men that day, wherefoze Cortes honoured them with hearty thanks.

The care of
good soldiers.

This day was the first of September. The night following, our men slept not quietly with feare of inuasion of their enemies, but they came not, for they neuer ble to fight in the night season. And as sone as it was day Cortes sent to the Captaines of Tlaxcallan, to require them of peace and friendship, willing them quietly to suffer the passage through theyr Countrey to Mexico, for that they meant them no hurt but rather good will. This done, he left two hundred Spaniards, and the Carreis in the Campe. And toke with him other two hundred, with seuen hundred Indians, and went with them abroade to skirmish in the face of their enemies, and at that time burned five or six villages, and returned with foure hundred prisoners, without receiuing any hurt, although they followed him to his campe. At his returne he found the aunswere of the Captaines his enemies, which was, that the next day they would come and talke with him, and declare their mindes.

Cortez was well pzevented that night, for the answer liked him not, but rather seemed braue, and a matter determined to bee bone as they had saide: likewise those which were taken prisoners, certified that his enemies were

were ioined together to the nūber of 150000. men to giue 150000. men.
him battell the next day following, & to swallow the alius
whom so mortally they did hate, thinking the to be friēds
to Mtezuma, vnto whom they wished all euil & mischief.

It was most true that the Tlaxcaltecas had gathered
all their whole power to apprehend the bearded men, and
to make of them a more solempne sacrifice vnto their gods,
then at any time heretofore they had done, with a gene-
rall banquet of their flesh, which they called Celestiall.
The Captaines of Tlaxcallan deuised their souldiers in-
to four battels, & one to Tepectipac, another to Ocutelul-
co, the third to Tizatlan, and the fourth to Quiahuiztlan,
that is to say, the men of the Mountaines, the men of the
Limepittes, the men of the Vinefrées, and the water
men, euery of these had their Lardes and Captaines,
whom they should repaire vnto and obey, and all these
four sortes of men doth make the bodie of the common
weale and Citie, and also commaunde both in time of
warre and peace. So that euery of these Captaines had
his iust portioⁿ or number of warriours, but the general of
all & whole army was called Xicotencatl, who was of the
Limepits: and he had the standart of the Citie, which is a
Crane of gold, with his wings spread, adozned with Eme-
rals & silver toozke, which standart is according to their
vse, either carried before the whole host, or else behinde the
all. The second Captaine or Lieutenant was Maxixca-
zin, & the number of the whole army was 150000. men.
Such a great number they had ready against 400. Spa-
niards, and yet at length overcome, neuertheles after all
this boile, they were most greatest friends. These four
captains came wth their cōpany, that the fields where they
were, seemed a forest. They were trim fellows, and well
armed according to their vse, although they were painted
so, that their faces shewed like diuels, with great tufts of
feathers,

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Indian armor.

feathers and triumphed gallantly. They had also slings, staves, speares, swoydes, bowes and arrowes, skulles, splents, gantlets all of Wood, gilt or else couered with feathers or leather, their Cosslets were made of Cotton wool, their targets and bucklers gallant and strong, made of woodde couered with leather, and trimmed with latten and feathers, their swoydes were staves with an edge of flint stone cunningly ioyned into the staffe, which would cut very well, and make a soze wound.

The host (as is declared) was diuided into foure parts, their instruments of warre were hunters hoznes, and drummes called attabals, made like a caldron, and couered with bellam. So that the Spaniards in all the discovery of India did neuer see a better army together, noz better ordered.

The threatning of the Indian campe against
the Spaniards.

These Indians were great braggers, and saide among themselves, what madde people are these that thzeatneeth vs, and yet knoweth vs not. But if they wilt bee so bolde to invade our Countrey without our licence, let vs not set vpon them so sone: it is mete they haue a little less, for we haue time enough to take and binde them, let vs also lend them meat, for they are comen with emptie stomacks: And againe they shall not say that we doe apprehend them with wearinesse and hunger. Whereupon they sent vnto the Christians thre hundred Ginnea cockes, and two hundred baskets of bread called Cenli. The which present was a great succour for the neede that they stood in. And sone after (quoth they) nowe let vs goe and set vpon them, for
by

A present.

by this time they haue eaten their meate, and now we will
will eate them, and so shall they pay vs the victuals that
we sent : like wise we wil know if Mutezuma commaun-
ded them to come into our countrey, or who else. And if he
sente them, then let him come and deliuer them : and if it
be their owne enterprise, they shall receiue theyr reward
accordingly. These and such like bragges they vsed, seing
so fewe Spaniardes before them, and not knowing their
strength. Then the foure Captaines sente two thou-
sand of their valiantest men of warre and olde Souldi-
ers, to take the Spaniardes quietly, with commaunde-
ment that if they did resist, either to binde them or else to
kill them, meaning not to sette their whole armie vpon
them, saying that they shoulde gette but small honour for
so great a multitude, to fight against so fewe. The two
thousand Souldiers passed the trench that was betwixt
the two Campes, and came boldly to the Towre where
the Christians were. Then came forth the Hoyle-
men, and after them the footemen, and at the first encoun-
ter they made the Indians see how the yron swordes
woulde cutte : and at the seconde, they shewed of what
force those fewe in number were, of whome a little be-
fore they had so tested : But at the thirde brynte they
made those lusty Souldiers fly, who were come to appe-
hende them, for none of them escaped, but onely suche as
knewe the passage of the trenches or ditche.

A reckning
made before
the hoste.

Battle.

Then the maine battell and whole army sette forth
with a terrible and maruellous noise, and came so fierce
vpon our menne, till they entred into our campe with-
out any resistance, and there were at handye strokes
and wrastling with the Spaniardes, and in a good space
coude not gette them out, killing many of them which
were so bolde to enter : and in this sort they fought
four hours, before they coude make way among
their

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their enemies. And then the Indians began to faint, seeing so many dead on their side, and the greates woundes they had, and that they coulde kill none of the Christians: yet the battaille ceased not till it ozeiue nere night and then they retired. Whereof Cortes and his Souldiers were exceeding gladde, for they were fully worried with killing of Indians, so that all that night our men triumphed with moze ioy, then feare, considering that the Indians fought not by night, they slepte and toke their rest at pleasure, which they had not done till that time, but alwaies kept both watche and warde.

The Indians finding many of their hosse missing, yet they would not yelbe themselves as ouercome, as after did appeare. They coulde not well tell howe many were slaine, no; yet our men had leasure to count them.

Cortes was a
painfull man:

The next daye in the morning Cortez wente forth to runne the fieldes as he had done befoze, leauing halfe his menne to keepe the campe, and because he shoulde not be espied he departed befoze day, & burned aboute .x. towne, and sacked one towne, which was of thre thousande houses, in the whiche were founde but fewe folke of sight, because the most of them were gone to their campe: After the spoyle, he set fire on the towne and came his way to his campe with a greate pray by nane time. The enimies pursued thinking to take away their pray, and followed them into the camp, where they fought siue houres and could not kill one Spaniarde, although many of their side were slaine: for euen as they were many and stood on a throng together, the ordinaunce made a wonderfull spoyle among them, so that they left off fighting, and the victozy remained for our men. The Indians thought that the Spaniardes were inchaunted because their arrows coulde not hurte them.

The next day following, the seure Captaines sente
thre

thee severall things in present to Cortes, and the messengers that brought them said: Sir behold here five slaves, and if thou be that rigorous God that eatest mans flesh and bloud, eate these which we bring unto thee, and we will bring thee more. And if thou be the gentle and meke God, beholde here Franckinsence and feathers. And if thou be a mortal man, take here soule, bread, & Cherries.

A straunge
presente.

Cortez answered, that both he and his were mortal men even as they were. And because that alwaies he had used to tell them trouth, wherefoze did they use to tel him lies, and likewise to flatter him, for he desired to bee their friende, aduising them to be madde and stubborne in their opinion, for if they so did, assuredly they shoulde receive great hurte and dammage. Likewise (quoth he) it is apparant unto you how many of your side are slaine without the losse of one of mine, and with this answer sent them away. notwithstanding the answer sent, there came aboute. 30000. of them even to Cortez his campe to proue their Cozselettes, as they had done the day before, but they returned with broken pates. Here is to be noted, that although the first day the whole host of Indians came to combt with our men, and finally all they came to fight, yet the next day they did not in, but every severall captaine by himselfe, for to divide the better the trauail and paines equally amōg them: & because that one should not disturbe another thzough h multitude, considering that they should fight but with a few, & in a narrow place, & for this consideration, the ir battails were moze fresher & stronger, for eche captaine did contende who should do most valiantly, for to get honour, and especially in killing one Spaniard, for they thought that all their hurtes shouide be satisfied with the death of one Spaniards, or taking one prisoner.

Likewise is to be considered, the strangeness of their battails, for notwithstanding their controuersie

all those fiftene daies that they were there, whether they fought or no. The Indians sente vnto the Spaniards cakes of bzeade, Ginnea cockes and Cherries. But this policie was not to giue them that meate for good will, but onely to spie and see what hurt was done amongst them, and also to see what feare or stomache they had to pzeccede: but the Spaniards fell not into that reckoning, for the espies of Tlaxcallan saide, that none had fought with them but certaine outlawes and knaues called Otornies, who liued as vagaboundes without a Royde or other ruler: And that they were theues, who had they abiding behinde a hill, which they pointed vnto with their hande.

How Cortez cut off the handes of fiftie
Indian espies.



The next day after these presentes were set vnto them as Goddes, which was the firste of September, there came to the Campe fiftie Indians of Tlaxcallan, which seemed after their softe honest men, and gaue vnto Cortez bread, cherries, & Ginnea cockes, as they ordinarily used to do, enquiring how all his Spaniards did and what they meant to doe, and whether they stood in necessitie of any thing. And after this communication they went vp and downe the camp, gazing and beholding the hozles, armour and attillery, and seemed amazed to see such things. But the effect of their coming was the office of espies.

Teuche of Zempoallan marking these things, who being of a childe brought vp in wars, by reason whereof he was expert & wise, came vnto Cortez, saying, sir it seemeth not well, if these Tlaxcaltecas wander by & downe your camp behal-

beholding the entrance and going out of the same, to be holde likewise the fortitude and weaknesse of your power, I like it not: It may please you to make enquire whether they be espies or no. Cortez hauing heard his tale, gaue him heartie thanks for his good aduice, yea and maruelled, that neyther he himseife, nor none of his Spanyardes had noted the thing, the Indians hauing so many dayes come vnto them after this sort, yea and that only Indian of Zempoallan had considered it.

The good
aduice of a
friend.

Now the originall cause was not because Teuch was more wise then the Christians, but by reason that he had seene and heard those Indians commune with the subiects of Iztacmiltitan to seke their mindes, and with craft and subtiltie to obtaine their desire: whereby Cortez understood that those fellows came not to any good purpose: he apprehended that Indian which stood next vnto him, and hauing him alone from his fellowes, by his Interpreter examined him effectually, who incontinent confessed that he was a spie, and that his coming thither was to view the way how to enter their Campe for to spoyle and burne their Tentcs: and for so much as they had proued fortune all the houres of the day, and all happened contrary to their desire, against their auncient fame and glory which they had obtained by noble exployts in wars, they now meant to proue their successe by night, hoping of better fortune: and also because their souldiers should not feare the hoyses, with the darkenesse of the night, nor the blowes or stripes of the bright swordes, nor yet the fire and terrible noyse of the Ordnance: and that Captaine Xicotecatl was already appointed for that enterprise, with promise of many thousand souldiers which late in ambush in a vale behinde certain hilles, right ouer against their Campe.

Confession.

After this confession taken, Cortez full prudently com-

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A good correction.

maunded to take also the seueral confessions of other foure or fise, who likewise confessed that they were all espies, vppon whose confessions they were all fittie taken prisoners, and iudgement giuen, that their one hand should be cut off, which was forthwith executed, and then were returned to their Camp, signifying vnto them that the like iustice should bee executed vppon as many espies as they might take. And also they were charged to shew vnto their General who had sent them, that both day and night he would be readie for them.

When the Tlaxcaltecas sawe their espies come in this pickle, they were in a maruellous feare, and it seemed a newe world vnto them, they also beleued that our men had some familiar spirites that did instruct them of their thoughts, and with feare of cutting off hands, there went no moe espies with victuals.

An Embassage that Mutezuma sent to
Hernando Cortez.

A carefull
Captaine.

When these espies were gone, our men espied out of our Camp a great multitude of men goe crossing ouer a hill, and it seemed that they were those that the Captaine Xicotencatl had in ambush, and although it was neare night, Cortes determined to followe them, and not to abide their comming, fearing at the first bzunt they might set fire among his cottages, as was pretended among them, which pretence hauing taken effect, might haue bene the destruction of all his men, either by the fire or otherwise, wherefore he put all his men in good order, and commaunded the horsemen to decke the breast plates of his horses with belles, and then proceeded toward their enemies,

enemies, who durst not abide their coming, hauing intelligence of the cutting of their espies hands, and likewise hearing the new noyse of belles, yet our men followed them till two houres within night, through many sowerne fieldes of Cenehi, and slew many of them, and then returned with victorie to the Campe.

At that season were come sixe noble men from Mexico, who brought two hundred seruing men to wait vpon them. They brought vnto Cortez a present, which was a hundred garmentes of cotten, and some of feathers, and a thousand peeces of gold.

Ambassage
from Mutezuma.

These embassadoers on the behalfe of Mutezuma, declared, that their Lord would be friend with the Emperour, and also with him, and his company, requesting to know what tribute he would yearely demand, in golde, plate, pearles, slaues, or garmentes, or of any other thing that was within his kingdome, and the same tribute hee would well and truely pay without delay, with such condition, that neither hee nor his company shoulde come vnto Mexico. And this request (quoth they) is not only because you shoulde be disturbed to come into his countrey, but chiefly because the way is euill, barren, and full of rockes, which let doth graue Mutezuma, that suche valiaunt men as yee be shoulde suffer in his Countrey, lying in his power not to remedie it.

Excuses.

Cortez did thankfully receiue the present and gentle offer for the Emperour King of Castile: but (quoth he) my earnest desire is, that you depart not till ye see the end of these warres which I haue now in hand, because ye shall carrie newes thereof to Mexico what I pretend to doe against these mortall enemies of Mutezuma.

Then Cortez fell into an ague, for which cause he went

not

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not out to skirmish as he was wont to do, but only provided to make his Camp strong against certaine flockes of Indians, which came daily to skirmish, for that was as ordinary, as the meat that was wont to be brought to them: but yet these skirmishes not furie of the Indians were not like to their fierce beginning.

Cortez now meaneth to take a purgation for his ague: and toke certaine pilles which hee brought with him from Cuba, at such houre of the night as is used for purgations.

It happened that the next day following, before his purge had wrought, came three great companies of Indians to besiege his Campe. It should seeme that those Indians had some intelligence of his sicknesse, or else thinking with feare that he durst not come abroad as he was wont to doe.

A valiant captain.

Cortez being aduertised of this newes, without any more respect to his purgation taken, toke his horse, and with his menne came to the encounter, and fought with his enemies all day till it was night, and drave them a good way off, to their great hurt, and then returned to his Camp, and the next day following, he purged as fresh, as though it had bene newly taken. It is not rehearse this for a miracle, but to declare what he passed: for Hernando Cortes was a greate sufferer of trauell and paynes, and one of the first that alway was at any assay or brunt of enemies, and hee was not onely a good man of his hands, but also graue in counsell. And hauing thus purged himselfe, and taken rest those dayes, hee watched euery night that fell to his lotte, as well as any other souldier, and so continually he used to doe. He was not for this the lesse esteemed, but rather muche the more beloved among his men.

How

How Cortez wanne a great Citie called
Zimpanzinco.



In an euening Cortez went by to the
toppe of his Towre, and looking round
about him, he espied about four leagues
distant in the Mountaines amongst
rockes, and proceeding out of a wood
diuers smokes, whereby he imagined
people to be there: hee opened not his
minde to any man, but commaunded

two hundred of his men to follow him, and some Indians
his friends, and within three or foure houres of the night
he toke his iourney toward the Mountaines, being very
darke. He had not fully gone a league, when sodainly ap-
peared the likenesse of a greate Bull whiche ouerthelwe
them that they could not stirre. The first horseman being
fallen, they aduised Cortez therof, who answered, that he
should returne with his horse to the Campe: and in con-
tinent fell another, Cortes commaunded him the like: and
when three or foure were fallen, his company retired, say-
ing: it was an euill token, desiring him to returne and a-
bide the morning, that they might see whither they went.

An euill spirit
appeared.

He answered, saying, ye ought to giue no credit to witch-
craftes or fantasies, for God, whose cause we take in hand,
is aboue all nature: wherefore I will not leaue my pre-
tended iourney, for I do imagine that of this nights tra-
uell shall come great ease and pleasure, saying, that the
Diuell hath in this forme of a Bull appeared, to disturbe
vs. He had no sower ended his talke, when his horse fell
likewise: then counsell was taken what was best to bee
done.

A couragious
Captaine.

It was determined that the horses which were fallen,
should

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should be returned to the Campe, and that of the residue, each Horseman should leade his horse by the bridle, and so proceede on their way, and shortly after their horses were well againe, but they neuer knew of what motion they had fallen: with the darkenesse of the night they lost their way to the Mountaines, and chaunced into a cragged rock way, that they thought neuer to haue come out thereof.

And after a while that they hadde gone this enill way, with their haire stanving with very feare, they espied a little light, and tooke the way thither, where they founde a little house, wherein were two women, and those women, with other two women that afterwardes they mette, conducting them to the Wildernesse, where they had espied the smoke, and before day they sette vp on certaine Villages, and slewe manie, yet they burned not those Villages, because they shoulde not be perceiued through the light thereof. They receiued their aduise, that nere at hand were great populations, and soone after he came to Zimpanzinco, a towne of twentie thousand houses, as after did appeare by the visitation of Cortes. These inhabitantes being vnaduised of this suddaine hap, were taken in their beddes, and came out all naked through the streets, to know what the great mourning and lamentation meant: at the first entrance many were slaine, but because they made no resistance, Cortez commaunded to cease from killing, nor yet to take any of their goods, or women.

A famous
Cortes.

The feare of these pooze inhabitantes was so great, that they fled without respect of the father to the childe, or husbände to the wife, or yet either of house or goods.

Cortes commaunded signes of peace to bee made unto them, and with that they staid, and before the Sunne rising

the west India.

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rising, the Towne was pacified.

Cortez went vp into a Tower to descry the Countrey, and there espied a most great population : hee then demaunded what it was : answere was made that it was called Tlaxcallan, and the Towne thereto appertaining. Then he called his Spaniards, and saide vnto them : beholde, what would it haue preuailed vs to kill these poore soules, hauing yonder so manie enemies : and without doing anye moze hurte in that Towne, hee went to a faire Fountaine there at hande, and thither came the Rulers of that Towne, and other foure hundred menne without weapon, and brought with them muche victuall, most humbly they besought Cortez to doe them no moze hurte, giuing him likewise great thanks, that hee hadde so fauourably vled them, offering both to serue and obey him, and from that day forwarde they would not onely keepe his friendship, but also trauell with the Lordes of Tlaxcallan and others, that they should doe the same. Cortes replied, that sure he was, howe they hadde fought against him before that time, although that now they brought him meate, yet notwithstanding he pardoned them, and also receiued them into his seruice and friendship, to the vse of the Emperour.

With this communication hee departed from them, and returned to the Campe very ioyfull with so good successe, hauing such a dangerous beginning, with the losse of their horses, wherein the prouerbe is fulfilled, which saith, Speake not euill of the day, till it bee at an end.

They hadde also a great hope, that those newe friends would be a meane, to cause the Tlaxcaltecas to leaue from warre, and to become their friends.

S. 2.

From

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From that day forward, he commaunded that none of his Campe should doe any hurt to any Indian, and certified his men that the same day his warres were at an end with that prouince.

The desire that some of the Spaniards had to leaue the warres.



When Cortez was returned so ioyfully to his camp, he found some of his men discouraged with the sodaine mishap of the hozles, fearing that like wise some misfortune had hapned to Cortes, but when they sawe him come well, and with victoꝝ, their ioy was great, although true it is, that many of his

men were not well pleased, but desired much to leane the warres, and to returne to the coast, as they had often requested, but now chiefly seeing such a great countrey, and full of people, who would not permit there abiding there, and they being so few in nūber in the midst among them without hope of succour, certainly things to be feared.

Murmuration

With this murmuratiō they thought it good to talk with Cortes, and also to require him to procede no further, but returne backe againe to Vera Crux, from whence by little and little they might haue intelligence with the Indians, and thereupon proceed according to time, and that hee might prouide moze hozles and men, which was the chiefest prouision of the warre.

And although some secretly enformed Cortes of this matter, yet hee gaue no eare to their talke, but on a night as hee came out of his Tower to ouerlooke the watch, hee heard a loude talke out of one of the Cottages, and beganne to hearken what their communication was,

was, and the matter was, that certaine souldiers sayde these wordes: If our Captaine be madde, and goe where he may be slaine, let him go alone, what néede we to follow him. Cortez hearing this talke, called two of his friends for witnesse, willing them to hearken his souldiers talke, for he that durst speake such wordes would be readie to doe it. Also he heard others say, what shall our iourney be as Pedro Carbonerotes was? who went into Barbaria to take Moyses, and he and all his were there slaine, wherfore said they, let vs not follow him, but turne in time. It grieved Cortes much to heare this talke, who woulde faine haue corrected them, but it was not then time, wherfore he determined to lead them with sufferance, and spake vnto them as followeth.

The Oration made by Cortex to his Souldiours.



My friends and louing friends, I did chosse you for my fellows, and ye chose mee for your Captaine, and all was for the seruice of God, and the augmenting of his holy faith, and also the seruice of our soueraigne Lord the king, now Emperour: and next for our owne commoditie, I (as ye haue seene) haue

not failed, nor yet displeased yee, nor ye likewise haue otherwise done to me vnto this day. But now I doe feele faintnesse in soine, yea and an euill will to goe forward in the warres which we haue in hand: but (God be praysed) it is now finished, at the least the ende is vnderstande, what it may be, and also the wealth that may follow, as partly you haue seene, but much without comparison of that you haue not seene, which is a thing that doth exceede

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the greatnesse of our wordes or thoughts.

Fear not (my louing fellowes) to goe and abide with mee, God forbidde that I should thinke, yea or that any should repozt, that feare vereth my companie, or else disobedience to their Captaine, which is a perpetuall infamie, if wee should leaue this lande, this warre, this way already made, and returne as some doe desire, shall we then liue at rest, loytering as idle and lost folke: God forbidde, that euer our Nation should haue such a name, hauing warres of honour. And whether (I pray) shall the Dre goe where hee shall not helpe to plough the ground? Doe ye thinke peraduenture that ye shall finde lesse people, worse armed, and not farre from the sea? I doe assure you, that in so thinking ye seeke after sine sette for a Catte, yea, and you shall trauell no way, but that you shall meete some euill passage (as the Proverbe sayth) yea and farre worse than this that we haue in hande. For why (God be thanked) since wee came into this Countrey, we neuer wanted meate, friendes, neither money nor honour. For now we see that ye are esteemed more than menne, yea as persons immortall, and Gods, if it might bee spoken, for these Indians being so many, and without number, and so armed, as ye your selues affirme, yet can they not kill one of vs: and as touching their weapons, you see that they are not poysoned, as the Indians of Carthage, Verragha, and the Caribez doe vse, which haue killed many of our Nation therewith, dying as madde menne raging.

And if there were no other cause then this onely, you should not seeke others, with whome to warre: I doe confesse that the Sea is somewhat farre from vs, and neuer Spaniards trauelled so farre into the maine lande of India, as we haue done: for why? now we leaue the
Sea

Sea a hundzeth and fiftie miles behinde vs, noz yet euer any hath come to neare Mexico where Mutezuma doth reside, from whome such messages and Treasure wee haue receiued. It is nowe but thre score miles thither, and the way is past, as you doe see, if wee come thither, as I trust in Iesus wee shall, then shall we not onely gette and winne for the Emperoure our naturall Lord, a riche lande, great Kingdomes, infinite Vassalles, but likewise for our selues much riches, as Golde, Silver, Precious stones, Pearles, and other commoditie: and besides this, the greatest honour that euer any nation did obtaine. For loke how great a king this is, howe large his Countrey is, and what great multitude of people hee hath, so much the more is our glorie.

Besides all this, wee are bound as Christians, to exalt and enlarge our Catholike faith, as we haue begunne, abolishing Idolatrie and blasphemie against our Saviour Christ, taking away the bloudie Sacrifice and eating of mans flesh, so horrible and agaynst nature, and many other grievous sinnes so much here vsed, for the foulness whereof I name them not. And therefore (I say) feare you, noz yet doubt you the victorie, considering that the way is past. Of late we ouercame the Indians of Tabasco, and also an hundred and fiftie thousand this other day of the Tlaxtaltecas, who haue the only name of breakers of Lions iawes: so with Gods helpe you shall be conquerours of the rest, if ye faint not, and follow me.

All his companie was pleased and content with this comfortable exhortation, and those that were faint hearted recovered strength. And his valiant Souldiours recovered double strength, & those who hated him, began to honour him: and in conclusion he departed from thence extending

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exceeding wel beloued of all his company. But al his former talke was very needfull as time then required: for why? some of his (as you haue heard) were desirous to returne: likewise vpon dissention, rebellion mought haue growne, and he forced to returne to the sea coast, where all his toyle and trauell taken had bene lost.

How Xicotencatl came for Embassadour to
Cortez his campe.

Cortez had not so soone made an ende of his talke, when Xicotencatl came entering into the campe, who was chiefe and generall captaine in Tlaxcallan, and of all the wars: he brought in his companie fiftie persons of authoritie to keepe him companie. They approched nere where Cortez was, and saluted ech other according to the vse of their countrey. Their salutations ended, and the parties setten downe, Xicotencatl began the talk, saying: Sir, I am come on mine own behalf, and also of my fellow captaine, and lieutenant Maxixca, and in the name of many other noble personages, and finally in the name of the whole state & common weale of Tlaxcallan, to beseech and pray you to admit vs into your friendship, and to yeld our selues and countrey vnto your King, crauing also at your hand pardon for our attempt in taking armes against you, wee not knowing what you were, nor what you sought for in our Countrey. And where we presumed to resist and defende your entrance, wee did it against the strangers whom wee knewe not, and such menne as wee had neuer heretofore seene: and fearing also that you had bene friends to Mutezuma, who is, and alwayes hath bene our mortall enemy. And these things we suspected, seeing Mutezuma his seruants in

in your company, or else wee imagined that you were comen to blurpe our libertie, the which oft times without memorie wee haue possessed, as our forefathers did with the shedding of their blood. And of our owne naturall prouision wee want Cotton wools to cloath vs, wherefore in time past wee went as naked as wee were borne, but some of vs vsed other cloth to couer our nakednesse, made of the leaues of the tree called Melt: and Salt also we wanted, which two things so necessarie to humane life, Mutezuma had great store, and other our enemies, of whome wee are round about environed. And likewise where wee haue no golde stones of value, or any rich thing to barter with them, of verie pure necessitie many times wee are forced to sell our owne bodies to buy these wantes. And this extremitie (saide he) wee needed not, if that wee would bee subiectes and vassals to Mutezuma. But yet had wee rather all in generall to ende our lines, then wee woulde putte our selues in such subiection, for we thinke our selues as valiaunt menne in courage as our forefathers were, who alwayes had resisted agaynst him, and his grandfather, who was as mightie as now is he: we woulde also haue withstande you and your force, but wee coulde not, although we proued all our possibilitie by night and day, and found your strength inuincible, and we no lucke agaynst you. Wherefore sithence our fate is such, we had rather bee subiect vnto you then vnto any others. For we haue knowne and heard by the Zempoallanezes, that you doe no euill, nor came not to bere any, but were most valiaunt and happie, as they had sene in the warres, being in your companie. For which consideration, wee trust that our libertie shall not be diminished, but rather our owne persons, wines, and familie, better preserved, and our houses and husbandrie not destroyed.

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destroyed. And in some of all his talke, the teares trickling downe his cheekes, he besought Cortes to way that Tlaxcallan did neuer at any time reknowledge any superior King or Lozde, nor at any time, had commen any person among them to commaunde, but onely he, whome they did voluntarily elect and chose as their superior and ruler.

It can not be tolde, how much Cortez reioyced with this Embassage, and to see such a mighty Captaine come vnto his campe to submitte himselfe: and also it was a matter of great waight to haue that Citie in subiection, for the enterprize which he had in hande, whereby he fully made an account that the warres were at an ende, to the great contentation of him and his company, and with great fame and reputation among the Indians.

Cortez with a mery and louing countenance answered, laying to their charge the hurte and damage whiche he had receiued in their countrey, because they refused at the first to hearken vnto him, and quietly to suffer him to enter into their countrey, euen as he had required and desired by his messengers of Zempoallan sente vnto them from Zaclotan. Yet at this not withstanding he did both pardon the kylling of his two horses, the assaulting of him in the highe way, and the greate lies, which they had moste craftily vsed with him, (for where as they themselves fought against him, yet they laide the faulte to others) likewise their pretence to murder him in the ambush prepared for him, (enticing him to come to their Citie,) without making first defiance, according to the law of armes.

These causes notwithstanding, he did louingly receiue their offer made in subiection to the Emperour, and in this sort departed, saying, that shortly he would be with him in Tlaxcallan, and presently he coule not goe with

the west India.

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With him for the dispatch of the Ambassadors of Mutezuma.

The receiuing and entertainment of Cortez
in Tlaxcallan.



I græued much the Embassadors of Mutezuma; to see Xicotencates in the Spanish Camp, and the offer made vnto Cortez in the behalfe of his King, of their persons, Citie and goods, aduising Cortes to giue credit vnto them, for all their saying (quoth they) is treason and lies, and to the entent to locke you vp

in their Citie.

Cortes answered, that although their aduice were true, yet he did determine to go thither, for that he feared them lesse in the Towne then in the felde. They hearing this answer and determination, besought him to giue vnto one of them licence to returne vnto Mexico, to aduertise Mutezuma of all that was past, with an answer to their Ambassage, promising within fixe dayes to haue newes from Mexico, and till then prayed him not to depart with his Campe.

Cortes graunted their request, and abode there the time appointed, expecting the answer. In this meane season came many of Tlaxcallan to the camp, some brought Guinea cockes, other brought bread and cherries, and gaue it for nothing in comparison, with merry countenance, desiring them to goe home with them vnto their houses.

The sixth day the Mexican came, according to promise, and brought vnto Cortes tenne Jewelles of Golde, both ^{A rich present,} rich and well wrought, and a fiftene thousand garments of Cotten exceeding gallant, and most earnestly besought

T 2

him

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him on the behalfe of Mutezuma, that he shoulde not daunger himselfe in trusting to the wordes of the Tlaxcaltecas, who were saporze that with necessitie woulde robbe him of the things whiche his maister had sente him, yea and likewise murder him, knowing of the friendshippe betwene his maister and him: likewise all the chiefest Loydes of Tlaxcallan came to intreate him to goe with them to Tlaxcallan where he shoulde be cherished, lodged, and well pꝛouided. For it was a greate dishonour and shame for them to permitte suche personages to abide in such vile cottages as they were in.

And if (quoth they) you truste vs not, that then we are ready to giue you for your securitie whatsoeuer gages you shall demaunde: notwithstanding they did bothe sweare and faithfully promise, that they might safely goe with them, saying also that the Othe and faith of the common weale shoulde neuer be broken for all the goods in the worlde.

Wherevpon Cortez seeing the good will of so many Gentlemen his newe friends, and likewise the Indians of Zempoallan, of whome he had good credite, did so importune him and assure him of his going, he commaunded his sardage to be laden and also his ordinaunce, and departed towarde Tlaxcallan, whiche was five leagues from that place, with as good order as it had bene to a battaile: And at the Towre where he had pitched his campe, he left certaine Crosses for a memoꝛie, with a greate heape of stones, and entred into Tlaxcallan the eighteenth of September. There came out such a multitude of people to see him and to mete him in the way, that it was a wonder to see.

Entrance into
Tlaxcallan.

He was lodged in the greatest temple, which had many greate and faire lodgings, sufficient for him and all his companie, except the Indians his friends which were lodged

lodged in other Temples. He set certaine limittes, out of the which he commaunded straightely that none of his company should passe, vpon paine of death, and also commaunded that they shoulde take nothing, but what shoulde be giuen them. His commaundement was well obserued, for none presumed to goe a stoanes cast with out his licence. The Indian Gentlemen thewed great pleasure and curtesie to the strangers, and prouided them of all things necessarie, and manye of them gaue theyr daughters vnto them, in token of true friendship, and likewise to haue fruite of their bodies, to be bzought vp for the warres, being such valiant men.

This Countrey liked well our men, and the greates loue of the people. They abode there at their pleasure twentie daies, in which time they did procure to knowe particularlye the estate of the common weale and secretes, and also were sufficiently instructed of the estate of Murezuma,

The description of Tlaxcallan.



Tlaxcallan is properly in the Indian tong as much to say, as bread well baked, for there is moze graine called Centli gathered, than is in all y^e prouince round about.

In times past y^e Citie was called Tlaxcallan, that is to say, a valley betwixt two hills. It is a greates Citie, and planted by a riuer side, whiche springeth out of Atlancatepec, and watreth the most parte of that prouince, and from thence issueth out into the South sea, by Zacatullan. This Citie hath foure goodly strectes, which are called Tepeticpac, Ocorelulco, Tizarlan, Quahuizlan. The first strecte standeth on high vpon a hill, farre from the riuer, which maye be aboute

halfe

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halfe a league, and because it standeth on a hill, it is called Tepeticpac, that is to say, a hill, and was the first population which was founded there on high, because of the warres.

An other streete was situate on the hill side towarde the River, because at the building thereof, there were many Pine trees: they named it Ocotelulco, which is to say, a pine apple plot. This street was beautifull, and first inhabited of all the Citie, and there was the chiefest Market place, where all the buying and selling was used, and that place they called Tlanquiztli: in that streete was the dwelling house of Maxixca. Along the River side in the plaine, standeth another street called Tizarlan, because there is much lime and chalke. In this streete dwelled Xicotencatl, Captaine generall of the common weale. There is another streete named by reason of the blackish water, Quahuiztlan, but since the Spaniards came thither, all those buildings are almost altered, after a better fashion, and built with stone. In the plaine by the river side, standeth the Towne house, and other offices, as in the Citie of Venice. This Tlaxcallan was governed by noble and rich men: they vse not that one alone should rule, but rather flee from that order, as from tyrannie.

In their warres (as I haue sayde before) they haue foure Captaines, which gouerneth each one streete, of the which foure, they do elect a Captaine generall. Also there are other Gentlemen that are undercaptaines, but a small number. In the warres they vse their standarde to be carried behinde the armie, but when the battaile is to be fought, they place the standarde where all the host may see it, and hee that commeth not incontinent to his auncient, payeth a penaltie. Their standarde hath two Croassebowe arrowes set thereon, which they esteeme as the

the west India.

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the reliques of their auncestors. This standard two old soldiers, and valiant men, being of the chiefest Captaines, haue the charge to carrie, in the which standard an abusing of southsaying, either of losse or victorie is noted. In this order they shote one of these arrows agaynst the first enemies that they meete, and if with that arrow they doe either kill or hurt, it is a token that they shall haue the victorie: and if it neither kill nor hurt, then they assuredly beleue that they shall lose the field.

This Province or Lordship of Tlaxcallan, hath 28. villages and townes, wherein is contained 150000. householdes. They are men well made, and good warriors, the like are not among the Indians. They are very poore, and haue no other riches, but onely the graine or cozne called Centli, and with the graine and profite thereof, they doe both cloath themselves, and pay their tributes, and provide all other necessities. They haue many market places, but the greatest and most used dayly, standeth in the streete of Ocotelulca, which is so famous, that 30000. persons come thither in one day to buy and sell, which is to say, changing one thing for another, for they knowe not what money meaneth.

A strange contradiction.

They sell such things in that market, as here we vse, and all thing vnto them needful to eat, and cloth for themselves, and necessities for building.

They haue all kinde of good policie in the Citty: there are Goldsmiths, Featherdrellers, Barbers, Hotehouses, and potters, who make as good earthen vessel, as is made in Spaine. The earth is fat and fruitfull for cozne, fruite, and pasture, for among the Pine trees groweth so much grasse, that our men feede their cattell there, which in Spaine they cannot doe.

Within two leagues of that Citty standeth a rounde hill of fire mules of height, and five and forty miles in compass,

compasse, and is now called Saint Bartholmeues hill, where the snow freeth. In times past they called that hill Matealcucie, who was their God for water. They had also a God for wine, who was named Ometochtli, for the great drunkenness which they used. Their chiefest God was called Camaxtlo, and by another name Mixcoatl, whose Temple stood in the street of Ocotulco, in the which temple there was sacrificed some yeares above eight hundred persons. In Tlaxcallan they spake three languages, that is to saye, Nahuatl, which is the courtly speech, and chiefest in all the land of Mexico: another is called Otomir, which is most commonly used in the Villages: There is one onely street that spake Pinome, which is the grossest speech. There was also in that Citie a common Playe, where fellows lye in prisons, and all things which they held for sinne, was there corrected.

Correction.

It chanced at that time a Townesman to steale from a Spaniard a little golde, whereof Cortez complained to Maxixca, who incontinent made enquirie, that the offender was found in Chololla, which is another Citie five leagues from thence, they brought the prisoner with the golde, and deliuered him to Cortez, to doe with him his pleasure: Cortez would not except him, but gaue him thanks for his diligence, then was he carried with a Cryer before him, manifesting his offence, and in the Market place vpon a skaffolde they bzake his ioyntes with a cudgell: our men maruelled to see suche straunge Justice.

The

The answer of the Tlaxcaltecas touching the
leauing of their Idolles.

When Cortez saue that these people executed Justice, and liued in Religion after their manner, although abhominable and diuellish: and alwayes when he desired them to leaue off from their Idolatrie and that cruell banitie, in killing and eating men sacrificed, considering that none among them how holy soeuer he were, would willingly be slaine and eaten, required them to be leue in the mosse true God of the Christians, who was the maker of heauen and earth, the giuer of raine, and Creator of all things that the earth produceth only for the vse and profit of mortall man.

Some of them answered, that they would gladly do it, onely to pleasure him, but they feared that the Commons would arise and stone them. Others said, that it was an hard matter to vnbelaue that which their forefathers had so long belæued, and that it should be a cause to condemne their forefathers and themselves.

Others said, that it might be in time they would conuert, seeing the order of the Christian Religion, and vnderstanding the reasons and causes to turne Christians, and likewise perceiuing throughtly the maner and life of the Christians, with their lawes and customes: and as for warlike seates, they were satisfied, and had seene such trial, that they held them for men inuincible in that point, and that their God did helpe them.

Cortez promised them, that shortly hee would bring them suche men, as should instruct and teache them, and then they should see which way was best, with the great ioy and fruite that they shoulde seele. They accepting that counsell which hee like a friend had giuen them, and

for as much as presently it coulde not be brought to passe by reason of his iourney to Mexico, he desired them, that the Temple wherein he was lodged, shoulde be made a church for him and his company, and if it pleased them, they might also come to see and heare their diuine seruice.

The Indians graunted his request, and dayly came among them all the time of their abode there, and some came and dwelte with the Spanyardes, but the chiefest friende was Captaine Maxixca, who neuer went from Cortez.

The discord betweene the Mexicans and
Tlaxcalteca.



Cortez being thoroughly satisfied of the hartie good willes, he demaunded of them the estate and riches of Mutezuma. They exalted him greatly, as men that had proued his force. And as they affirmed, it was nere a hundred yeares that they maintained warre with him and his father Axaiaca, and others his Anckels and Grandfathers. And saide also, that the golde and treasure of Mutezuma, was without number, and his power and dominion over all the lande, and his people innumerable: for (quoth they) he ioyneth sometime two hundred thousand men, yea and three hundred thousande for one battaile. And if it pleased him, he woulde make as manye men double, and there of they were good witnesse, because they had many times fought with the.

Maxixca desired y Cortez should not adventure himselfe into the power of the men of Cullhua, tobercal some of the Spanyardes feared and suspected euill of the matter.

Cortes.

Cortes tolde him, that notwithstanding al those things which they had tolde him, he was fully minded to goe to Mexico, to visit Mutezuma, wishing him to aduise him what he mought do, or bying to passe for them with Mutezuma, for he should willingly do it, for the curtesie shewed vnto him, and that he belæued Mutezuma would graunt him any lawfull request.

Then they besought him to procure for them a licence to haue cotton wolle and salte out of his Countrey, for (said they) in time of the warres we stode in great needs thereof, and that they had none but suche as they boughte by stealth of the Comercans very deere, in change of golde: for Mutezuma had made a strait lawe, whereby all suche as carried anye of those commodities to them shoulde be slaine. Then Cortez enquired the causes of their disorder and euill neighborhood. They answered, that their griefes were olde, and cause of libertie: but as the Ambassadors did affirme, and Mutezuma afterward declare, it was not so, but for other matter farre differente. So that eache partie alleadging their causes, their reasons were, that the yong menne of Mexico and Culhua did exercise and bying them vppen in warlike feates nere vnto them, and vnder theyr noses, to theyr greate annoyance, whereas they mought haue gone to Panuco and Teocantepec, his frontiers a farre off.

Likewise their pretence was, to haue warre with them being theyr neighbours, onely to haue of them to sacrifice to their Gods: so that when they would make any solemne feast, then would they send to Tlaxcallan for men to sacrifice, with such a great army, that they might take as many as they needed for that yeare: for it is most certaine if Mutezuma would, in one daye hee moughte haue broughte them in subiection, and slayne them

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all, toyning his whole power in effect : but his purpose was, to keepe them for a pray to hunt withall, for men to be sacrificed to his Goddes, and to eate, so that he would neuer sende but a small Armie against them : whereby it did chance that sometimes those of Tlaxcallan did ouercome.

Cortez receiued great pleasure to heare these discords betwixt his new friends & Mutezuma, which was a thing fit for his purpose, for by that meanes hee hoped to bring them all vnder subiection, and therefore he used the one and the other secretly, to build his pretence vpon a good foundation.

At all this communication there stood by certaine Indians of Verozinco, which had bene against our men in the late warres, the which Toluca is a Citie as Tlaxcallan, and toynd with them in league of friendship against Mutezuma, who oppressed them in like effect of slaughter for their Temples of Mexico, and they also yielded themselves to Cortez for vassals to the Emperour.

The solemne receiuing of the Spaniards
into Chololla.

The Ambassadors of Cortez seeing the determination of Cortez to proceede on his iourney toward Mexico, they besought him to goe by Chololla, whiche stood five leagues from thence, certifying that Chololla was a citie in their friendship, and y^e there he might at his pleasure abide y^e resolution of their Lord Mutezuma, whether it were his pleasure y^e he should enter into Mexico or no. This request was only to haue him from thence, for truly it grieved much Mutezuma of their new friendship and league, fearing

fearing that thereof would come great displeasure hap-
pen towards him, and therefore procured all that was
possible to haue him from thence, sending him alwayes
presents to allure him to come frō thence the soner. But
when the Tlaxcaltecas saw that he would go to Chololla,
it grieved them much, saying vnto Cortes, that Mutezu-
ma was a lier and fraudulent person, & that Chololla was
a Citie his friend but not constant, and it might happen
that they would displease him, hauing him within their
Citie, wishing him to looke wel to himselfe. And if needes
he would go thither, yet they would prouide 20000. men
to keepe him company.

A gentle
offer.

The women that were given to the Spaniards at
their first entraunce, had vnderstanding of a snare that
was layd to murder them at their comming to Chololla,
by meanes of one of the foure Captaines, who had a si-
ster which discovered the thing to Pedro de Aluarado
who kept her. Cortes incontinent called that captaine out
of his house, and caused him to be choked, and so was the
matter kept close, that his death was neuer knowne,
whereby the snare was vndone without any rumour. It
was a wonder that al Tlaxcallan had not made an hyproze
seeing one of their greatest Captaines dead. There was
inquirie made of that snare, and the truth being knowne,
it was approued, that Mutezuma had prepared, 30000.
Souldiers who were in campe for that purpose within
two leagues of the Citie, and that the streets of Chololla
were stopped vp with timber and railles, and the toppes
of their houses prouided with stones, which houses are
made with plaine rofes, or lattices, and the high way
stopped vp, and other false bywaies made, with deep holes
pitched full of stakes very sharpe, to spoile and lame both
hoyse and man: these engines were finely couered with
sande, and could not be espied, although the scoutes had

Correction of
treason.

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gone before on foot to discover. The matter also was become suspicious, for these Citizens of Chololla had not at any time come to visit him, or sent any present unto him as others had done.

Whereupon Cortes consulted with the Tlaxcaltecas, to send certaine messengers to Cholollo, to request their captains and rulers to come unto him, who did their message accordingly, and the Cholollans would not come, but yet they sent three or foure persons to excuse them, saying that they were not well at ease, praying him to signifie unto them what he would haue: the Tlaxcaltecas enformed Cortes, that those messengers were men of small credite, and of low degree, wishing him not to depart till they Captaine came. In this sort Cortes returned their messengers backe againe, with commaundement written, declaring that if they came not within three dayes, hee would proclaime them rebels, and his bitter enemies, and as such would be chasten them with all rigour.

When this commaundement came unto them, the next day following came many Lords and Captaines to make their excuse, saying, that the Tlaxcaltecas were their enemies, and that through them they could not liue in safety: likewise they knewe of the euill report which they had made agaynst them: wherefoze they besought him to giue no credite vnto them, for why, they were both false and cruell men: beseeching him also to goe with them to their Citie, and then he should see that all was but a mockerie that had bene tolde them, and they his good and faithfull friends: and last of all they offered to serue him as tributary subiects.

Cortes commaunded that all this talke should be set downe in writing before the Notarie, and his interpreters, and so tooke his leaue of the Citizens of Tlaxcallan. Maxixca wept at his departure, but there went in his
com.

companie, a hundred thousand men of warre : there were among them many Marchants that went to barter for salt and mantels.

Cortez commanded that those hundred thousand men should go alwaies by themselves : that day he reached not to Cholollo, but abode by a broke side, and thither came many of the citie, to desire him that the Tlaxaltecas should not doe any hurt in their Countrey : whereupon Cortez commanded them to returne back again, all sauing 5000 or there about, much against their willes. But they still required him to take good heede of those euill folke, who be not (quoth they) men of warre, but pedlers, and men of double heart : and they of their parts would bee very loth to leaue him in any perill or danger, hauing giuen themselves to be his true and faithfull friends.

The next day in the morning the Spaniards came to Chololla, and there came out nere 10000 Indians to receiue him with their Captaines in good order : many of them presented vnto him bread, soules, & roses, and euery Captaine as he approached welcomed Cortez, and then stood aside, that the rest in order might come vnto him. And when he came entring into the Citie, all the other Citizens receiued him, marveling to see such men & horses.

After all this, came out all the religious menne, as Priests and Ministers, to the idols (who were many and straunge to behold,) and all were clothed in white like vnto surples, and hemmed with Cotten threde : some brought instruments of musicke like vnto Cornettes, other brought instruments made of bones, other an instrument like a kettel couered with skin, some brought chafing dishes of coales with perfumes, others brought idols couered, and finally they all came singing in their language, which was a terrible noise, and drew ner Cortes and his company sending them with sweet lincls in their senses.

Which

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With this pompe and solemnitie (which trulle was great) they brought him into the Citie, and lodged him in a house where was roume inough for him and his, and gaue vnto each of them a Ginnea cocke, and his Indians of Tlaxcallan, Zempoallan and Iztacmizelitan, were provided by themselves.

The conspiracie of the Cholollans to kill
Cortes and his men.



At that night following Cortes was vigilant with al his company, for both in the way & in the towne they had found some of the things whereof they had been aduised befoze in Tlaxcallan, and although their first present was a Ginnea cock to each mans allowance, other three dayes following they gaue them nothing almost to eate, and very seldome the captaines came to visite them, whereof Cortes had great suspicion.

And in this meane while the Embassadours of Mutezuma entreated him to leaue off his iourney to Mexico, alledging that their great King would die in beholding their beards and tecture: other times they sayd that there was no passage, other times they woulde say that they wanted wherewith to sustaine them. And seeing them fully, and in euery respect aunswered to all these points, they caused the Towlones men to ensurme them, that where Mutezuma his abiding was, were monstrous Lions, Tigers, and many other fierce beasts, the which when Mutezuma commaunded to be losed, were sufficient to plucke in peeces, and to destroy those fewe strangers: and seeing that all these pollicies sauaild not, they consulted with the Captaines and chiefe Citizens to
murther

murder the Christians. And because they shoulde so bring it to passe, the Embassadors promised the Citizens great rewardes on the behalfe of Mutezuma, and presented to their generall a drumme of Golde, and promised to bring the thirtie thousand Souldiers which lay aboute two leagues from thence: the Cholollans promised to deliuer them bounde hande and foote. But yet they would not consent that those Souldiers of Culhua shoulde come into their Citie, fearing that they (vnder colour of friendship) would remaine with the Towne, for why the Mexicans had bled the like sleight. And in this sorte they with one holte meante to kill two birdes at a shoote, for they thought to take the Spaniardes sleeping, and then to remaine with the Towne of Chololla. Also it was determined, that if all these pretences coulde not be brought to passe, that then they shoulde be conducted a contrary way to Mexico vpon the left hande, in the which were many dangerous places, because the way was all sandy, with many sluces, ditches, and holes, of thre adom drape, meaning there to mæte them, and to carry them bound to Mutezuma: this matter being fully agreed, they beganne to take away their householde stuffe, and to carry it with their wiues and childzen vpon the mountaines.

Many perile

And our men being also ready to departe from thence for their small chære with euill countenance, it happened, an Indian woman (being wiue to one of the principallest Citizens,) hauing some affection to the bearded men, saide vnto Marina, that she shoulde abide there with hir, for that she loued hir well, and that it would grieue her that she should be slaine with hir maister. Marina disguising the matter, procured to knowe what they were that had conspired the thing, and hauing knowledge thereof, she ranne to seeke Aguillar hir fellow interpreter, and

Helpe from
God.

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both together enformed Cortes of the whole matter.

Cortes hearing this newes, slept not, but incontinent examined two of the Cittizens, who confessed the thing euen as it passed, and as the Gentlewoman had declared: whereupon Cortes stayed his iourney two dayes, to mollifie the matter and to disappoint them of that euill pretended purpose, and also to correct their offences, he commaunded their rulers to be called, saying that he had to talke with them, and when they were comen, he required them neyther to vse lies nor deceits with him, but rather like men to desie him to the field and battaile, for (quoth he) honest men vse rather to fight the to lie. They all answered that they were his friends and seruitours, and no liars, and that it might please him to shewe them when he would depart, for they would goe armed to keepe him company. He answered that he wold depart the next day following, and that he required but only some of their slaues to carry his sardage, because his owne Tamemez or Carriers were wearied: likewise hee required some provision of victuall.

At this last request they smiled, saying among themselves, to what purpose will these men haue victuals, for shortly themselves shalbe boyled and eaten with the saule called Axi, yea, and if Mutezuma had not pretended their bodies for his owne dish, they had bene eaten here befoze this time.

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The punishment that Cortez executed for conspiracie.

The next day in the morning the Cholollans thinking that they had their determinate purpose in good readiness, they came & brought many to carry their sardage, and other sorn to carry the Spaniards vpon their backs, hoping to apprehend them in the same order. Ther came also many armed men of the most valiantest, to kill him that should disorder himselfe. Likewise that day their Priests sacrificed tenne childzen of thre yeres of age to their God Quezalcoatl, siue of these childzen were men, and the other siue women, whiche was their custome when they began their warres: the Captaines placed themselves at the foure doores of Cortez his house with some armed men. Cortez earely in the morning had secretly in a readines the Indians of Zempoallan and Tlaxcallan, and other friends: he commaunded his horsemen to take their horses, giuing them this watchword, that whē they heard the noise of the shotte of a handgun, that then they should play the men, for it imported all their liues. And he seeing the towne men appoach nere his lodging, commaunded the captaines and chiefeest of them to come vnto him, saying, that he woulde take his leaue of them: there came many, but he would not suffer aboue thirtie persons to come in, who were the principallest, and declared vnto them, that alwaies he had dealte truly with them, and they with him nothing but treason and lies. Likewise they had vnder colour requested that his frends the Tlaxcaltecas shoulde not come vnto their towne, and that he fulfilled therein their desire, and also commaunded his owne men in no wise to be hurtfull vnto them, yea and although they had not prouided him of victuals

O worthe
Cortes.

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as reason did require, yet he would not permit any of his men to take the value of one henne from them, so that in recompence of all his gentle dealings and good will, they had moste wickedly procured the death of him and all his companie. And because they coulde not performe it in their owne towne, they had prepared the slaughter in the high way, at those daungerous places whiche they had determined to leade them vnto, pretending also the help of thirtie thousand men, Souldiers of Mutezuma, which army stode not fully two leagnes from thence. And for this horrible and detestable wickednesse ye shall all die, and in memozie of traytors I will destroy this citie, and turne the foundations vpwardes, so that there shall remaine no remembraunce of you.

Their offence being manifest, coulde not be denied, and looking one vpon an other, their colours wared pale and wanne, saying, this man is like vnto our Goddes, who knoweth all things, therefore lette not vs denie the truth, and openly befoze the Embassadors of Mutezuma confesse their error and euill fate.

Then said Cortes to the Embassadors, you do see that we should haue bene slain by the Cholollons, and through the procuremet of Mutezuma, but yet I beleue it not, considering that he is my friende and a mightie Prince, saying also that Noble men vsed neither treason nor lyes, wherefoze feare not you, but these dissembling Traytors shall be punished, for you are persons inuolable, and messengers of a Prince, whome he meante to serue and not offend, because he had an assured opinion in Mutezuma, to be a vertuous Prince, and one that would not committe villanie.

All these wordes he spake, because he would not fall out with Mutezuma, vntill he saue himselfe within the Citie of Mexico.

Incont

Incontinent he commaunded some of those Captaines to be slaine, and kept the residue bounde. Then he shot off his handgunne, which was the watch vnto his armie, who forthwith set vpon the Townesmen, and within two houres slew fire thousand persons and moze.

Cortez commaunded that they should kill neither wo- man nor childe, they fought wel neare five houres: they set fire on all the houses & Towers that made resistance, and djaue all the inhabitants out of the Towne. The dead carcases laie so thicke, that of force they must tread vpon them.

There were twentie Gentlemen, and many Priests, who ascended vp to the high tower of the temple, which hath a hundzeth and twentie steppes, from whence with arrows and stones they did much hurt, and would not yelde, wherevpon our men set fire to the Tower, and burned them all. Then they exclaimed on their Goddes, who would neither helpe them nor their Citie and holie sanctuary.

The Citie being sacked, our men toke the spoyle of golde, plate, and feathers, and the Indians their friends toke cloathes and salt, which was the treasure that they desired.

Cortez commaunded to cease the spoyle. The other Captaines that laie bounde, hearing of such a great destruction and punishment, most pittifully besought Cortez to lose some of them, soz to see what was become of their Gods and common people. Likewise they humbly besought him to pardon them, who had not so much fault as Mutezuma, who perswaded and entised them to that pretended treason.

Vpon their lamentable request, he losed two of them, and the next day following the Citie was as full of people againe, that there seemed not one to be wanting.

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At the sute of the Tlaxcaltecas who were put for mediators, Cortez pardoned them all, and set his prisoners at libertie, assuring them that the like correction he would do vpon all them that should dissemble or shewe an euill countenance, or make lies, or finally vse anye kinde of treason toward him: where vpon they all abode in greate feare. He made the knot of friendship betwene them and the Tlaxcaltecas, which in time past had ben betwixt the, for Mutezuma and his auncestors made them enemies, with faire promises, wordes, and also feare.

The Citizens hauing their generall Raine, chose an other with licence of Cortez.

The Sanctuary or holy place among the Indians, was Chololla.



Hololla is a citie as Tlaxcallan, and hath but one persō who is gouernour and general Captaine, chosen by the consent of al the Citizens. It is a Citie of twentie thousande householoes within the walles, and in the suburbs as much moze. It sheweth outwardes very beautifull, and full of

towers, for there are as many temples as dayes in the yeare, and euery temple hath his tower. Our men counted foure hundred towers. The men and women are of good disposition, wel fauoured, and very wittie.

The women are Goldsmithes and also Carriers, the men are warriors, and light fellows, and good maisters for any purpose: they goe better apparrelled then any other Indians yet sene. They weare for their vpper garment, clokes like vnto Popiscos, but after another sort. All the Countrey round about them is fruitfull and earable

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able ground, well watered, and so full of people, that there is no wast ground, in respect whereof, there are some poore which begge from doore to doore. The Spaniards had not seene any beggers in that Countrey befoze they came thither.

Chololla is a citie of most deuotion and religion in all India, it is called the Sanctuarie or holy place among the Indians, and thither they tranelled from many places far distant in pilgrimage, and for this cause there were so many temples.

Their Cathedrall Temple was the best and highest of all the new Spaine, with a hundred and twentie steps vp vnto it.

The greatest Idoll of all their Gods was called Quetzalcouately, God of the aire, who was (say they) the founder of their Citie, being a Virgin of holy life, and great penance. He instituted fasting, and drawing of blood out of their eares and tongues, and left a precept, that they should sacrifice but onely Quails, Doves, and other foule.

He neuer ware but one garment of Cotton, which was white, narrow, and long, and vpon that a mantle be- set with certaine red crosses.

They haue certaine greene stones which were his, and those they keepe for reliques. One of them is like an Apes head. Here they abode twentie dayes, and in this meane while there came so many to buy and sell, that it was a wonder to see. And one of the things that was to be seene in those faires, was the earthen vessel, which was exceeding curious and fine.

The

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The hill called Popocatepec.



Here is a hill eight leagues frō Chololla, called Popocatepec, which is to say, a hill of smoke, for many times it casteth out smoke and fire. Cortes sent thither ten Spaniards, with many Indians, to carry their victuall, and to guide thē in the way. The ascending vp was very troublesome, and full of craggie rocks. They approached so nigh the top, that they heard such a terrible noise which proceeded from thence, that they durst not go vnto it, for the ground did tremble and shake, and great quantitie of ashes which disturbed the way: but yet two of them who seemed to be most hardie, and desirous to see strange things, went vp to the top, because they would not returne with a ſæuelesse answer, and that they might not be accounted cowards, leaving their folloves behinde them, proceeding ſoꝝwards. The Indians said, what mean these men? ſoꝝ as yet neuer moꝝ tall man tooke ſuch a iourney in hand.

These two valiant fellows passed through the desert of Ashes, and at length came vnder a great smoke verie thicke, and standing there a while, the darknesse vanished partly away, and then appeared the vulcan and concaue, tie, which was about halfe a league in compasse, out of the which the ayze came abounding, with a great noise, verie shrill, and whistling, in such sort that the whole hill did tremble. It was to be compared vnto an oven where glasse is made. The smoke and heate was so great, that they could not abide it, and of ſoꝝce were constrained to returne by the way that they had ascended: but they were not gone tarre, when the vulcan began to lash out flames

of fire, ashes, and imbers, yea and at the last stones of burning fire : and if they had not chanced to finde a rocke, wherevnder they shadowed themselves, vndoubtedly they had there bene burned.

When with good tokens they were returned wher they left their fellows, the other Indians kissed their garments as an hono^r due vnto gods. They presented vnto them such things as they had, and wondred much at their fact.

Those simple Indians thought, that that place was an ^{Purgatory.} infernall place, where all such as gouerned not well, or vsed tyrannie in their offices, were punished when they died, and also belieued, that after their purgation, they passed into glozie.

This Vulcan is like vnto the Vulcan of Cicilia, it is high and round, and neuer wanteth snowe about it, and is seene a farre off in the night, it latheth out flames of fire.

There is nere about this hil many cities, and Huexozinco is one of the highest.

In tenne yeares space this straunge hill of woorking did expell no vapoure or smoke : but in the yeare 1540. it beganne againe to burne, and with the horrible noyse thereof, the neighbours that dwelt foure leagues from thence were terrified, for the especiall straunge smokes that then were seene, the like to their predecesso^rs had not bene seene.

The ashes that proceeded from thence came to Huexozinco, Quelaxcopan, Tepiacac, Quauhquecholla, Chololla, and Tlaxcallan, which standeth tenne leagues from thence, yea some say, it extended fittene leagues distant, and burned their hearbes in their gardens, their fields of cozne, trees, and cloathes that lay a drying.

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The consultation that Mutezuma had, concerning
the comming of Cortez into Mexico.



Cortez pretended not to fall out with Mutezuma, before his comming to Mexico, and yet hee understood all Mutezuma his pretence, whereupon he complaineth to the Ambassadors, saying, that hee much marvelled that such a mighty Prince, who by so many Gentlemen had assured his friendship vnto him, should now procure his totall destruction, in not keeping his promise and fidelitie. In consideration whereof, where he meant to visite him as a friend, that now hee would goe to his Court as an enemy. The Ambassadors excused their maisters cause, beseeching him to withhold his furie, and to giue licence to one of them to go to Mexico, who would bring answer from thence with all speede.

Cortez graunted vnto the request, the one of them went, and returned againe within six dayes, in company of another messenger that had gone thither before, who broughte tenne platters of golde, and a thousande five hundred mantels of cotten, with much victuall, and Cacao, which is a kinde of fruit that serueth for currant money among them. Likewise they brought a certaine kind of wine or licoure made of Cacao and Centli. They informed Cortes, that Mutezuma was innocent of the consultation in Chololla, nor by any meanes partie to their dealings, affirming moreover, that the garrison of soldiers did appertaine to Acazinco, and Acazan, who were neighbors to Chololla, who by inducement of some naughty persons, had procured that thing, saying that he should both see and understand him to be his faithfull and loving friend,

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friend, praying him to come sozward on his Iourney, soz he should abide his comming in Mexico.

This ambassage pleased well Cortes, but Mutezuma feared, when hee heard of the slaughter, and burning of Chololla, and said to his friends, these are the people that our Gods said should come and inherite this land.

Prophecie of
the Diuel.

Mutezuma went incontinent to his Dzatozie, and shut in himselfe alone, where he abode in fasting and prayer eight dayes, with sacrifice of many men, to assake the fury of his Idols, who seemed to be offended.

The voyce of the Diuell spake vnto him, bidding him not to feare the Christians, saying they were but fewe, and when they were come, he should doe what he listed with them, willing him in no wise to ceasse from the bloodie sacrifice, least some mischance might happen vnto him. And assured him that he should haue the Goddes Vitz-pucheli, and Tescatlipuca, to preserve and keep him. And because Quezalcouatl was agréued soz wante of bloodie sacrifice, hee permitted the straungers to punish them of Chololla. And Mutezuma hearing this diuellish Oracle, and likewise Cortes hauing warned him that he would visite him as an enemye, he was by this perswasion of Satan, the better willing to receiue him into Mexico.

Likewise Cortes whē he came to Chololla, was strong, and had at commaundement a mightie power, and there made himselfe stronger, the same whereof, was blowne abroad, throughout all the dominions of Mutezuma. And whereas the poze Indians had but only marvelled at their persons and furniture, now they beganne to tremble and to feare at his doings, so that wheresoeuer he came, they opened him the gates with pure feare, moze then soz any loue.

Mutezuma at the beginning, pretended to feare Cortes with

An euil coun-
sellour.

with the fearfull passages and other perils and daunger, as the fortitude of Mexico, with his great multitude of subiects, and the great number of Princes that did both serue and obey him: and seeing that all these things profited not, hee thought to haue overcome him with giftes and treasure, knowing that he hadde required gold: yet he sawe that nothing woulde pzeuaile, soz that Cortez woulde needes come to see him, wherevpon, hee toke counsell of the Dinell what he should do in that case, vpon which counsell hee was satisfied by his Princes and Captaines, that he ought not to warre against so selue strangers, soz if he so did, the dishonour would be his, and chiefly, because Cortez certified that he was an Ambassadour, and vsing him other wise, it might so fall out, that his owne subiects would rebel against him their Lord and Prince, saying likewise, that it was manifest that the Otomies and Tlaxcaltecas would fauour his side, and also many others, soz to destroy and spoyle Mexico, vpon which consultation it was openly proclaimed, that his wil was that the strangers should enter into Mexico freely, thinking that if at any time they should displease him, to make a bzeakefast of them the next day.

Things that happened to Cortez in his
iourney to Mexico.

Cortez hauing so good an answer of the Ambassadors, he gaue licence to as many of the Indians his friends, as listed to depart home to their houses, and he likewise departed from Chololla, with some borderers that would needes follow him.

He left the way that the Mexicans had perswaded him to come, for it was both euill and dangerous, as the Spaniard which went to the vulcan had scene, he went another plainer way, and more nearer. That day he travelled but foure leagues, because he went to lodge in the villages of Huexozinco, wher he was friendly receiued, and they presented vnto him slaues, garments, and golde, although but little, for they are poore, by reason that Mutezuma hath enuironed them about, because they were of the parciality of Tlaxcallan. The next day in the morning he ascended by a hill couered with snow, which was five miles of height, where if the 30000. souldiers had waited for them, they might easily haue take them, by reason of the great cold: and from the top of that hill, they discovered the land of Mexico, and the great lake, with his villages round about, which is an exceeding godly sight. But when Cortes saw that beautifull thing, his ioy was without comparison, and he toke not so much pleasure, but some of his men feared as much, and there was a murmuratiō among them to returne backe againe, yea and like to haue bene a mutinie among them. But Cortes with his wisdom and dissimulation did pacifie the matter, with courage, hope, and gentle wordes, and they seeing that their Captaine at all assayes was the first himselfe, they feared the lesse the things that they imagined. And descending downe into the plaine, they found a great large house, sufficient for him and all his companie, with five thousand Indians of Tlaxcallan, Huexozinco, & Chololla. And 8 seruants of Mutezuma made cofages of straw for the Tamemez or carriers, who were lade with the fardage, and vittailles: there was a good supper prepared for them, and great fires to warme them, and all things necessary. Whither came many ppincial persons frō Mexico, to visite him, among whom was a kinsman of Mutezuma,

Oh wise
Cortes

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tezuma, who presented vnto Cortes the value of thre thousand Ducats in gold, and besought him to returne backe againe, and to haue consideration of the povertie, hunger, and euill way, yea and to passe in little boats in danger of drowning. And as for tribute to be giuen to the Emperour, a greater summe should be appointed, then though he went personally to Mexico, yea and that it should be paid at what place he would appoint. Cortes welcomed them, as reason did require, and presented vnto them haberdasheries, which they esteemed in much, & chiefly he did lovingly entertaine Mutezuma his kinsman, vnto whome he made this answer, saying, I would gladly serue and please such a mightie prince as your soueraigne Mutezuma is if it lay in my handes without offence of the King my master: and concerning my going to Mexico, Mutezuma shall receiue both pleasure and honour, rather than otherwise, & after I haue talked with him, I will soone returne, likewise hunger I feare not, neither yet doubt that I nor none of mine shall want, and for my passage on the water, I say it is nothing in comparison of two thousand leagues, which I haue sailed onely to come and visit him.

But yet for all this talke, if they had found him careless, they would haue pinched him as some doth say, for he gaue them to vnderstand, that he nor his men slept not by night, nor yet vnarmed themselves, yea, and also if it chanced the to finde in the night season any that were not of their company, they slue them out of hand, desiring him to aduise his men therof, least any of them should happen to fall into that daunger, which would much grieve him, and with this talke they went all to take their rest.

The next day in the morning he proceeded forward and came to Amaquemecan which is 2. leagues from thence, and lieth in the prouince of Chalco, a town y^e containeth 20000. householders. The Lord of that towne presented

to Cortez fortye women slaues, and 3000. ducats in gold, with meat abundantly for two daies, & secretly made complaint vnto him of Mutezuma. And from thence he went to another towne foure leagues frō thence, the half thereof was built vpon the lake, and the other half vpon the land at the foot of a ragged hill. There went in his companie many subiects of Mutezuma for purueyors, but yet both they and the townesmen would faine haue laid hands vpon the Spaniards, and euery night would send their spies to see what the Christians did, but the watch slue about twentie of them, wherebpon the matter staied, and their pretence toke no effect: sure it is a thing to laugh at, for at euery fancie they would proue to kill the, and yet they were not for the purpose. The next day in the morning came twelue Lords from Mexico, among whom was Cacama, neww to Mutezuma, who was Lord of Tezcuco, a yong man of xxb. yeares of age, whom the Indians did much honour: he was carried vpon their shoulders, and when they set him downe, one went before with a broome to sweepe the dust out of his way. These Gentlemen came to accompanie Cortes, excusing Mutezuma, saying that he was not well at ease, and therefore he came not personally to receiue him. And yet they intreated Cortes to returne back againe, and not to come vnto Mexico, giuing him to vnderstand by signs, that they would there displease him, and so defend the passage and entrance, a thing easie to be done, but they were either blinded, or else they durst not breake the lawlesse. Cortes entertained the like noble men and gaue vnto them of his haberdash, and departed frō the towne wth many graue personages, who carried with them a great traine, which filled vp the way well nigh as they should passe, wondzing at their beards, harnesse, apparell, horses and ordinaunce, saying to themselves, these be Gods. Cortes gaue them warning not to come among the horses

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nor among his men, for feare they would kill them. This he made them beleue because he would not haue his way stopped, for that the number of the was so great. They the came to a towne built vpon the wafer, of two thousand houses, and befoze they came thither, they had gone moze then halfe a league vpon a faire Cawsey, which was twentie fote broad: the towne had faire houses and many tolvers: the Lord of the towne did receiue them wozyshipfully, and prouided all things plentifully, desiring him to abide there that night, and secretly made complaintes against Mutezuma, of many wrongs and exactions done by him, and certified him, that from thence the way was very faire to Mexico, & all the like cawsey as he had passed. With this newes Cortes was very glad, for he meant to haue stayed there for to haue built Barkes and foyfts, and yet he feared least they would bzeake y cawsey, wherfoze he had alwayes a care ouer Cacama, who with the other Lordes desired him not to abide there, but to procede for ward to Iztacpalapan, which was but two leagues off, and that the Lord thereof was another puew to Mutezuma. To admit their request he wet with them to that towne, and from thence to Mexico was but two leagues, the which the next day he might go at pleasure, and come timely into the citie, & in this order came to Iztacpalapan.

Euery two houres came messengers betwixte Cortes and Mutezuma: then came Cuclauac Lord of that towne, with the Lord Culhuacan his kinsman to receiue him, who presented vnto him slaues, garments, and feathers, and to the valew of foure thousande Ducates in Golde. Cuclauac receiued al the Spaniards into his own house, which hath verie faire lodgings all of stone, and Carpenters worke, exceeding well wrought, with high & low rowmes, with all kind of seruice: The chambers were hangd with cloth of Cotton very rich, after their maner.

There

the west India.

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There were faire gardens replenished with many sweet flowers, and sweete trees garnished with netwozke, made of Canes, and couered with roses and other fine hearbes, with sundrie pondes of sweete water. There was an other garden very beautifull of all sortes of fruites and hearbes, with a great ponde walled with lime and stone, and was foure hundred paces square, made with faire stemples to discende vnto the bottom in many places, and was full of diuers kindes of fishes, and many kinde of water birdes, which sometimes couered y pond, as Gullies, Pelues, and such like. Iztacpalapan is a towne of 10000. households, & is planted in a lene of salt water, the one halfe of the towne built on the water, and the other on the land.

The Solemne pompe, wherewith Cortes
was receiued into Mexico.



From Iztacpalapan to Mexico is two leagues all vpon a faire Calsee, vpon the which eight horsemen may passe on ranke, and so directly straight as though it had bene made by line. And who soeuer hath god eiesight might discerne y gates of Mexico fro thence.

Coyoacan is a towne of fixe thousand dwellers, Vizilopucheli is of fixe thousand. These townes are planted in the lake, and are adozned with many temples, whiche haue many faire towers, that doe beautifie exceedingly the lake. There is great contractatiō of Salte, which is made there, and from thence is carried abroad to faires and markets, which thing was a greater rente to Mutezuma. Vpon this Calsee are many bzawit bzidges built vpon faire arches, that the water passeth through.

Cortes passed this calsee with 400. Spaniards, & 6000. Indians his friends: theyr passage was with much ado, by reason

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reason of the great multitude of Indians which came to see him, & coming near the citie, there adioyned another calley with a broader passage, where standeth a strong bulwarke of stone of the height of 2. fadom, with two towers on each side, and two gates very strong. Here at this fort came thre thousande Courtiers and Citizens to receive him, and euery of them touched the ground with his right hand and kissed it, and passed forwarde in the order as they came. These salutations endured an houre & more. From the bulwark the calley lieth directly, and before the entraunce into the stræte there is an other braue brydge made of timber ten paces broad, vnder the which the water passeth to and fro. At this brydge came Mutezuma to receiue Cortez vnder a Canapie of græne feathers & gold, with much argenterie hanging thereat, which Canapie foure noble men did carry. And the two princes Cuelanac and Cacama his newes, did leade him by each arme: all thre were rich apparellled & all of one fashion, except Mutezuma, which had a paire of shooes of gold beset with precious stones, and the soles were tied to the vpper parts with latches, as is painted of the Antikes. His gentlemen went by twos and twos, laying downe and taking by mantels and conerlets vpon the ground, because his feet should not touch the same: then followed him as in procession, 200. noble men barefooted, with garments of a richer livery then the first thre thousand. Mutezuma came in the middle of the stræte, and the others came behind him as nigh the wal as they mought, their faces towards the ground, for it was a great offence to looke him in the face. Cortez alighted from his horse, and according to our vse went to embrace him, but the Princes who led him by the armes would not suffer him to come so nigh, for they held it for sin to touch him, but yet saluted each one y other.

Cortez put about Mutezuma his necke a collar of *garites*,

garites, Diamonds, & other stones all of glasse. Mutezuma receiued it thankfully, and went befoze with one of the pzinces his newewes, and commaunded the other to leade Cortes by the hand, next after him in the midst of þe stræt: and proceeding sozward in this order, then came the Gentlemen in the richest livery to welcome him, one by one, touching the ground with their hands, and after returned to their standing. And if the Citizens had come as they requested, all that day would not haue serued for salutations. The collar of glasse pleased well Mutezuma, and because he would not take without giuing a better thing, as a great pzince, he commaunded to be bzought two collers of redde pzaines, which are there much esteemed, and at euery one of them hanged eight szimpes of gold, of excellent workmanship, and of a finger length euery one, he put these collers with his owne handes about Cortes his necke, the which was esteemed a most great fauour, yea and the Indians maruelled at it. At this time they were come to the stræte ende, which was almost a mile long, broad, straight, and very faire, and full of houses on each side, in whose dozes, windowes and tops, was such a multitude of Indians to behold the straungers, that I know not who wondered most, our men to see such a number of them, or else they to see our men, their ordinance & horses, a thing so straunge vnto them. They were bzought vnto a great court or house of idols, which was the lodging Axajaca, at the doze whereof, Mutezuma toke Cortes by the hand, and bzought him into a faire hall, and placed him vpon a rich carpet, saying vnto him, Sir now are you in your owne house, eate and take your rest and pleasure, for I will shortly come and visite you againe. Such (as you heare) was the receiuing of Hernando Cortez by Mutezuma a most mightie King, into his great and famous Citie of Mexico, the eight day of Nouember, 1519.

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The Oration of Mutezuma to the
Spaniards.

The house where the Spaniards were lodged was great and large, with many faire chambers sufficient for them all: it was nete, cleane matted, and hanged with cloth of Cotton, and feathers of many colours, pleasant to behold. When Mutezuma was departed from Cortez, he began to sette his house in order, and placed the ordinaunce at his doze, & hauing all his things in good sort, he went to a sumptuous dinner that was prepared for him. As soone as Mutezuma had made an end of his dinner, hearing that the straungers were risen from the table, and reposed a while, then came he to Cortez, saluting him, and satte downe by him. He gaue vnto him diuers iewels of gold plate, feathers, and many garments of Cotton, both riche, wel wouen, and wrought of strange colours, a thing comely, that did manifest his greatnesse, and also confirme their imagination. This giste was beliuered honozable, and then began his talke as foloweth: Lord and Gentlemen, I doe much reioyce to haue in my house such valient men as ye are, for to vse you with curtesie, and intreate you with honour, according to your deserte and my estate. And where heretofore I desired that you shoulde not come hither, the onely cause was, my people had a greate feare to see you, for your iecture and grimme heardes did terrifie them, yea, they reported that ye had such beasts as swallowed men, and that your coming was fro heauen, bying with you lightning, thunder, & thunderbolts, wherewith you made the earth to tremble and to shake, and that ye slew therewith whom ye pleased. But now I do see & know that you are mortal men, and that ye are quiet & hurt no man: also I haue seene your houses,

which

which are but your seruants, and your Gunnes like vnto shooting Drunkes. I doe now holde all for fables and lyes which haue bin reported of you, and I doe also accept you for my mére kinsman. My father tolde mee that hee had heard his forefathers say, of whome I doe discende, that they helde opinion howe they were not naturalls of this land, but come hither by chaunce, in companie of a mightie Lorde, who after a while that he hadde abode here, they returned to their naturall soile: After manie yeares eppped, they came againe for those whom they had left here behinde them, but they would not goe with them, because they had here inhabited, and hadde wines and children, and great gouernment in the land. Nowe these mightie Lordes seeing that they were so stubbozne, and would not returne with them, departed from them sore displeased, saying, that hee would send his children that should both rule and gouerne them, in iustice, peace, and aunient Religion. And for this consideration, wee haue alwayes suspected and beleued, that such a people should come to rule and gouerne vs, and considering from whence you come, I doe thinke that you are they whome we looked for, and the notice which the great Emperour Charles had of vs, who hath now sent you hither. Wherefore Lorde and Captaine, be well assured, that wee will obey you, if their be no feyned or deceitfull matter in your dealings, and will also diuide with you and yours all that wee haue. And although this which I haue sayde were not onely for your vertue, fame, and deeds of valiant Gentlemen, I would yet do it for your worthinesse in the battels of Tausco, Teocazincos, and Chololla, being so few, to overcome so many.

Now againe, if ye imagine that I am a God, and the walles and roofes of my houses, and all my vessel of seruice, to be of pure golde, as the men of Zempoallan, Tlax-

A strange
opinion.

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callan, and Huexozinco, hath enformed you, it is not so, and I iudge you to be so wise, that you giue no credite to such fables. You shall also note, that throught your coming hither, many of my subiects haue rebelled, and are become my mortall enemies, but yet I purpose to breake their wings. Come seele you my bodie, I am of flesh and bone, a mortall man as others are, and no God, although as a king I doe esteeme my selfe of a greater dignitie and prehemnence then others. By houses you doe also see, which are of timber and earth, and the principallest of Gascons twooke, therefore now you doe both knowe and see what odious liers those talebearers were. But troth it is, that gold plate, feathers, armour, iewels, and other riches, I haue in the treasure of my forefathers a long time preserved, as the vse of Kings is, all the which you and yours shall enioy at al times. And now it may please you to take your rest, for I know that you are wearie of your iourney. Cortes with ioyfull countenance humbled himself, seeing some teares fall from Mutezuma his eyes, saying vnto him, vpon the trust I haue had in your clemencie, I insisted to come both to see, and talke with your highnesse, and nowe I knowe that all are liars which hath bene tolde me. The like your highnesse hath heard reported of vs, assure your selfe, that the Emperour King of Spaine is your naturall Lord, whom ye haue expected for, he is the onely heire from whence your linage both proceeded, and as touching the offer of your highnesse treasure, I do most heartily thanke you.

A louing answer.

After all this communication, Mutezuma demanded whether the bearded men which came with him, were either his vassals, or his slaves, because he would entertaine each one according to his estate. Cortez answered, that they were all his brethren, friends, and fellows, except some that were his seruants.

Then

Then he departed, and went home to his Pallace, and there informed himselfe particularly who were Gentlemen, and who were not, and according thereunto, sent euery one particular gift or present. To the Gentlemen he sent his reward by his Controller, and to the Garrisoners and other seruitors, by a Page of his household.

The Maiesty and order, wherewith Mutezuma was serued.



Mutezuma was a man of a small stature, and lean, his colour tawny as all the Indians are. He had long haire on his head, six little hairens vpon him, as though they had bene put in with a bodkin. His thin beard was black. He was a man of a faire condition, and a doer of iustice, well spoken, graue and

wise, beloued and feared among his subiects. Mutezuma both signifie sadnesse.

To the proper names of Kings and Lords, they do adde this sillible C. which is for curtesie and dignity, as we vse Lord. The Turk vseth Zultan. The Moze or Barbarian calleth his Lord Mulley, and so the Indians say Mutezumazin. His people had him in such reuerence, that he permitted none to sit in his sight, nor yet in his presence to weare shooes, nor looke him in the face, except berie selue princes. He was glad of y conuersation of the Spaniards, and would not suffer them to stand on fote, for the great estimation he had of the, & if he liked any of the Spaniards garments, he would exchange his apparell for theirs,

He chaunged his owne apparel foure times euery day, and hee neuer cloathed himselfe againe with the garments which hee had once woone, but all such were kept

kept in his Guardrobe, for to giue in presents to his seruants and Ambassadors, and vnto valiant Souldiours which had taken any enemy prisoner, and that was esteemed a great reward, and a title of priuiledge.

The costly mantels whereof had bene diuerse sent to Cortes, were of the same Guardrobe.

Mutezuma went alwaies very mete and fine in his attire. He bathed him in his hotehouse foure times euery day. He went seldome out of his Chamber, but when he went to his meate. He ate alwayes alone, but sollemnelie, and with great abundance. His table was a pillow, or else a couple of coloured skinned. His Chaire was a foure footed stole made of one peece, and hollowe in the middelt, well wrought and painted. His table clothes, napkins, and towels, were made of Cotton wolle, verie white and netwe; for he was neuer serued but once with that naperie. Foure hundred Pages brought in his meate, all sonnes of great Lordes, and placed it vpon a table in his great Hall. The meate being brought in, then came Mutezuma to behold the dishes, and appoynted those dishes that liked him best, and chafing dishes were prepared to keepe that meate warme, and seldome would eate of any other dish, except the Lord Steward or Controller should highly commend any other dish.

Before he sate downe, came twentie of his wines of the sayest and best esteemed, or else those that serued weake by turne, brought in the Basen and Cwer, with great humbleness. After this done, he sate him downe, and then came the Lord Steward, and dyed a wooden nette before him, because none shoulde come nigh his Table. And this noble man alone placed the dishes, and also took them away, for the Pages who brought in the meate, came not neare the Table, nor yet spake any worde, nor no man else.

While the Lord Mutezuma was at his meate, except some Jester, they all serued him barefooted. Where assisted alwayes somewhat a farre off, five auncient and noble men, vnto whome he vsed to giue of the dish that best lyked him, who receiued the same at his hand with great reuerence, and ate it incontinent, without looking in his face, which was the greatest humilitie that they coulde vse before him. He had musicke of Fiddle, Flute, and of a Snayle shell, and a Caudron couered with a skinne, and such other strange instruments. They had very euill voyces to sing. Alwayes at dinner time he had Dwarfses, crookebackes, and other deformed counterfeits, all for maiestie and to laugh at, who had their meate in the Hall among the Jestres and Idiots, which were sed with part of the meate that came from Mutezuma his table, all the rest of the meat was giuen to thre thousand of the guard, who attended ordinarily in the yard or court, and therfore they say that there was brought for his table thre thousand dishes, and as many pottes of wine, such as they vse, and that continually the Buttreys and Pantreys stood open, which was a wonder to see what was in them. The platres, dishes, and cuppes, were all of earth, wherof the king was serued but once, and so from meale to meale new. He had likewise his seruice of gold and plate very rich, but he vsed not to be serued with it, (they say) because he would not be serued twice therewith, the which he thought a base thing.

Some affirme, that yong chyldren were slaine and dyessed in diuers kinde of dishes for Mutezuma his table, but it was not so, onely of mans flesh sacrificed bee sedde now and then. The table being taken vp, then came againe the Gentlewomen to bring water for his hands, with the like reuerence as they vsed at the first, and then went they to dinner with the other viues, so that then the Gentle-

men and pages waited as their course fell.

The footeplayers that plaid before
Mutezuma.



When his table was taken by, and his seruitors gone to meate, Mutezuma sate still: then came in the suiters that hadde any affaires to deale with him, barefooted, for all the persons did vse that reuerence, excepte some Princes his kinsmen, as the Lords of Tescuco, and Tlacopan, and a fewe others: and being cold weather, they vsed to weare old ragged clothes vppon their rich garments. All suiters vsed to make thre or four curtessies, not loking toward his face, and speaking vnto him their heads downe wardes, and in that order retired backe againe. Mutezuma aunswere red his suiters very grauely, with lowe voice, and in fewe words, and not to all suiters, for others his secretaries or counsellors that stood by, answered for him, and hauing their answer, they returned backwardes, not turning their tailes to the prince. After these busineses done, he vsed som recreatiō, hearing Jesters or songs, wherin he delighted much, or else to loke vpon the plaiers, who play with their sorte, as we do with our handes. These haue a cudgel like vnto a passlers roller, which they tolle high & low as it wer a bal in the aire, strange to behold. They vse other plaies to passe y time, in such an order, y it seemed maruellous to the lookers on. Cortez broughte into Spaine some of these players. Also they vse Marachines, in suche sorte they do play, that there stande eache vppon other shoulders, and he that standeth highest, sheweth many feates. Sometime Nutezuma did beholde the players, who played at a game called Pacolizli,

colizeli, which is muche like oure Tables, and they play with beanes, squared like dice, which they cal Patolli, and throw them out of both their hands upon a matre, or else upon the ground, where are made certaine strikes, upon which they sette downe the chance that is throwne: and at this game they play all that they haue, and many times they valew their owne bodies, and playe that into captiuitie, and to remaine a slaue, I meane such as are common gamesters of small estate.

The Tennis play in Mexico.



Sometimes Mutezuma went to the Tennis Courte. Their ball is called Villamalizeli, and is made of the gum which cometh frō a tre called Vli. This tre groweth in a hote Countrey. The gumme being kneded together, and so made round, is as blacke as pitch, and somewhat beaute, and very harde for the hande, but yet good and light to rebound, and better than our windballes. They play not at chases, but at bandie, or at check, that is, if the ball touch the wall it loseth. They may strike the ball with any part of their bodie, but there is alwaies a penaltie if they only strike not with the buttoke or side, which is the finest play: whereof they vse a skinne vpon each buttocke. They play so many to so many for a packe of mantels, or accordyng to the abilitie of the players. Also they play for golde and feathers, and sometime for their owne bodyes, as they vse at Patolli, which is there permitted & lawfull. The Tennis Court is called Tlachco, and is a Hall long and narrow, but wider upwards, then downewardes, and higher on the sides then at the ends, which is an industrie for their play. The house is alwaies white and smoth in the side walles: they haue certain stones like vnto milstones, wth a little hole in

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the middlest that passeth through the stone, the hole is so small, that scarcely the ball may pass through, but he that chanceth to strike the ball into the hole, which sildome happeneth, winneth the game, and by an auncient lawe and custome among Tennis players, he ought to haue the cloakes of all those that stand and behold the play, on that side that the ball went in, and in some Tennis Courtes, the halfe of the garments of them that stand looking on. The winner is then bounde to make certaine sacrifice to the God of the Tennis play, and to the stone where the ball entred. The beholders of the play would say, that such a winner should bee a thiefe and an adulterer, or else that he should die quickly.

They used in the Temple of the Tennis play, two Images of the God of the ball, which stood vpon the two lower walles. The Sacrifice was celebrated at midnight, with many Ceremonies and Witchcrafts, and songes for that purpose. Then came a Priest from the Cathedrall Church, with other Religious persons to blesse the Sacrifice, saying certaine diuellish praies, and throwing the ball foure times in the Tennis Court. In this order was the Tennis play consecrated, and after this consecration it was lawfull to play, or else not, for this diligence was first to bee done when any Tennis Court or play was newly built.

The owner of the Tennis Court also would neuer suffer any to play, vntill he had first offered something to the Idoll, their superstition was so great.

Mutezuma brought the Spaniards to behold this pastime, and gaue them to vnderstand, that hee delighted much in this game, and also to see our men play at Cardes and Dice.

the vvest India.

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The number of viues that Mutezuma
had in his house.



Mutezuma had many houses as well in Mexico as without, for his recreation and pleasure, as also for his ordinarie dwelling. To write of all it should be tedious, but where his continuall abiding was, he named Tepac, that is to say, palace. And that pallace had twentie doores or gates whiche had their outcomming into the common strætes.

It hath thre courtes, and in the one standeth a fayre fountaine, many halles, and a hundred chambers of twentie thre, and thirtie foote long, an hundred bathes and bothouses: and although the building was without nailes yet very good workmanship.

The walles were made of masons worke, and wrought of Marble, Jasper, and other blacke stone, with baines of redde, like vnto rubies and other stones, which glistered very faire: the Rooffes were wrought of Timber, and curiously carued: the Timber was Cedre, Cipers, & Pine-tree: the chambers were painted and hung with cloth of cotten, and cloth made of Conneis haire and feathers. The beddes were poore and of no bale we, for they were nothing but Mantels laide vpon mattes, or vpon Hay, or else mattes alone: fewe men lay within those houses.

There were a thousande women, and some affirme that there were thre thousand, accounting gentlewomen, seruaunts and slaues: the most were noble mens daughters, Mutezuma toke of them for his selfe, those that liked him best, and the others he gaue in marriage to Gentlemen his seruants.

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The saying was, that he had at one time a hundred and fiftie women his wiues with childe, who through the perswasion of the diuel, toke medicines to cast their creatures, because they knew that they should not inherit the State: these his wiues, had many olde women for their Guard, for no man was permitted to looke vpon them.

The shield of armes that is set in his Pallace, and likewise carried to the warres, is an Eagle soying vpon a Tiger his talents, bent as taking pray. Some thinke it is a Gryphon and not an Eagle. The Gryphons in time past, say they, did cause the vale of Auacatlan to be dispeopled, for they were great deuourers of men, and that their abiding was in the Mountains of Teoacan: they approue that these Mountaines were called Cuilachtepelt, of Cuilachthi, which is a Gryphon, bigger then a Lion: but the Spaniards did neuer see any of them.

The Indians by their old Pictures do paint those Gryphons to haue a kinde of haire and no feathers, and also affirme, that with their talandes and teethe they breake mens bones. They haue the courage of a Lion, and the countenance of an Eagle: they painte him with foure feete, and teeth, with a kind of downe, more like woll then feathers, with his beake, talandes, and wings.

And in all those things the picture agreeth with our painting and writing, in such sort that a Gryphon is no approued naturall foule, nor yet beast. Plinie iudgeth this tale of Gryphons to bee lies. There are also other Lords that giue the Gryphon in their armes, sying with a heart in his talandes,

A house of Foule, which were onely preferred
for their feathers.



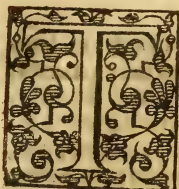
Mtezuma had another house, with be-
ry good lodgings and faire galleries,
built vpon pillars of Jaspe, which ex-
tendeth toward a goodly garden, in the
which there are tenne pondez of moe,
some of salt water for sea foule, & other
some of fresh water for riuer foule and
lake foule, which pondez are deuised

with sluices to emptie and to fill at their pleasure, for the
cleannesse of the feathers. There is such a number of foule
that scarcely the pondez may hold them, and of such diuers
kinds both in feathers and making, as sure it was an ad-
miracion for the Spaniards to behold, for the most of them
they knew not, nor yet had at any time sene the like. And
to every kinde of foule they gaue such bayte as they were
wont to feede of in the fields or Riuer. There did belong
to that house thre hundred persons of seruice: some were
to cleanse the pondez: other some did fish for bayte: other
some serued them with meate: other did lose them and
trimme their feathers: others had care to looke to their
egges: others to set them abroad: others cured them when
they were sicke: and the principallest office was to plucke
the feathers: for of them was made rich Pantels, Tapis-
sary, Wargats, tusses of Feathers, and many other things
wrought with Gold and Siluer: a most perfit worke.

A house

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A house of foule for hawking and other
straunge things.



There is another house with large quarters and lodgings, which is called a house for foule, not because there are moze then in the other, but because they be bigger and to haue withall, and are foule of rapine, wherfoze they are esteemed as moze nobler then all the others.

There are in this house many high halles, in the which are kept menne, women and Childzen: in some of them are kept suche as are bozne white of colour whiche doth very selde happen: in other some are dwarfes, crooked backs, burstenmen, counterfaites, and monstrous persons, in greate number: they say that they vied to deforme them when they were Childzen, to sette forth the kings greatnesse: every of these persons were in severall Halles by themselves.

In the lower Halles were greate Cages made of Timber: in some of them were Lions, in other Tigers, in other Dwizes, in others Molues: in conclusion, there was no foure footed beaste that wanted there, onely to the effect that the mightie Mutezuma might say that he had such things in his house.

They were fed with their ordinarie, as Cinea cockes, Deare, Dogges, and such like.

There was also in other Halles great earthen vessels, some with earth, and some with water, wherin were snakes, as grosse as a mans thigh, Wipers, Crocodzilles, which they call Caymanes, or Lizarts of twenty foote long, with such Scales and head as a Dragon bathe: Also other little Lizartes, and other venomous beastes and
Serpents

Serpentes as well of the water as of the lande, a terrible sight for the lookers on.

There were also other Cages for foule of rapine of all sortes, as Hawkes, Eagles, Boyters, and at the least nine or ten kind of Haukes. This house of foule had of dayly allowance five hundred Gynea cockes, and three hundred men of seruice, besides the Falconers and Hunters, which are infinite. There were many other sortes of Fowles that our men knewe not, which seemed by theyr beake and talents good to Hauke withall.

To the Snakes and other venemous beastes they gaue the bloude of men sacrificed, to feede them, and some say they gaue vnto them mannes fleshe, whiche the great Lisarts doe eate very well. The Spaniardes saue the floure covered with blend like a iealy in a slaughter house, it stunke horribly.

It was straunge to see the officers in this house howe euery one was occupied. Our men toke great pleasure in beholding suche straunge things, but they coulde not alwaye with the roaring of the Lyons, the fearefull hissing of the Snakes and Adders, the dolefull howling and barking of the Wolues, the sorrowfull yelling of the Dwarves and Tigres when they woulde haue meate.

Polke certaine, in the nighte season it seemed a Dungeon of Hell, and a dwelling place of the Deuill, and euen so it was in deede, for neare at hande was a Hall of a hundred and fiftie fote long, & thirtie fote broad, where was a Chappel with the Roofe of silver and golde in lease Mainescotted, and decked with great store of pearle and stone, as Agattes, Coznerines, Emeraldea, Rabies, and diuers other sortes, and this was the Oratory where Mutezuma prayed in the nighte season.

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and in that chappell the diuell did appeare vnto him, and gaue him answere accordyng to his prayeers.

He had other houses like vnto Barnes, onely for the feathers of foules, and for mantels which proceeded of his rentes and tributes, a thing much to bee seene: vpon the doores was set his armes, which was a Conntle.

Here dwelled the chiefe officers of his house, as Treasurer, Controller, Receiuers and other officers apperteyning to the Kings reuenewes. Mutezuma had no house wherein was not an Oratory for the diuel, whome they worshipped for the Jewels there. And therfore these houses were great and large.

The Armory of Mutezuma.



Mutezuma had some houses of Armour, vpon the doores whereof stood a bowe and arrowes. In these houses was great store of all kinde of Punition whiche they vse in their warres: as Soges, Arrowes, Slings, Lances, Darts, Clubbes, Swords and Bucklers; and gallant Targettes moze trimme then strong, Skulles and Splintes; but not many, and all made of wood, gilt or couered with leather. The wood whercof they make their Armour and Targettes, is very hard and strong, for they vse to toast it at the fire, and at their arrowe endes they enclose a little peece of flint stone, or a peece of a fish bone called Libis; and that is venomous, for if any bee hurt therewith and the head remaine in the wounde, it is lethereth, that it is almost incurable.

Their

Theyr swordes are of woodde, and the edge thereof is flint stone, enclosed or loyned into a staffe, with a certaine kinde of glewe which is made of a rote called Zaccote, and Teuxalli, which is a kinde of strong sande, whereof they make a mixture, and after kneade it with blood of Battes or Reare mice, and other foule, which doth glewe marvellous strong, and lightly neuer uncleaveth: of this stuffe, they make nayles, pearcers, and augers, wherewith they boze timber and stone: with their swordes they cut speares, yea and a horse necke at a blow, and make dents into iron, which seemeth a thing impossible and incredible.

In the Citie no man may weare weapon, but onely in warres, hunting, and among the Kings Guard.

The Gardens of Mutezuma.



Esides the foresaide houses, hee had many others for his onely recreation and pastime, with excellent faire Gardens of medicinal hearbes, swete flowers, and trees of delectable savour, whiche were many, and a thing to give praise to God the maker & Creator of all.

In that Garden were a thousand personages, made and wrought artificially of leaves and flowers. Mutezuma woulde not permitte that in this Gardeine shoulde be any kinde of pottle hearbes, or things to bee sold saying, that it did not appertaine to Kings to haile thinges of profite, among their delightes and pleasures,

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for suche thinges (saide he) did appertaine to Merchants.

Yet notwithstanding he had Orchards with many and sundry fruites, but they stode farre from the Cittie, and whither sildome times hee went: hee had likewise out of Mexico pleasaunt houses in wooddes and forrestes, of great compasse, enuironed with water, in the which he had fountaines, riuers, pondes with fishe, warrandes of Cornies, rockes and couert where were Harts, Bucks, Hares, Hores, Wolues, and such like, with wildernesse for euery sort.

To these places the Loyds of Mexico vsed to goe and sport themselves; such and so many were the houses of Mutezuma, wherein seue Kings were equall with him.

The Court and Guard of
Mutezuma.



He had daily attending vpon him in his priue Guard, five hundred po-
ble men and Gentlemen, and each of
them three or foure seruants, and some
had twentie seruants or moe, accor-
ding to his estate: and in this maner
he had three thousande men attendant
in his Court, and some affirme moze,
all the which were fedde in his house of the meate that
came from his table.

The seruing men alwayes abode belowe in the Court
all the day, and went not from thence till after Sup-
per.

It is to bee thought that his Guard was the greater, because the Strangers were there, although in effect of truth it is most certaine, that all the Loydes that are vnder the Mexicall Empire (as they say) are thirtie persons of high estate, who are able to make each of them a hundred thousand men. There are three thousand Loydes of Townes, who haue many vassals.

These noble men did abide in Mexico certaine times of the yeare, in the Court of Mutezuma, and could not depart from thence without especiall licence of the Emperour, leaving each of them a son or brother behind them for securitie of rebellion, and for this cause they had generally houses in the Citie: such and so great was the Court of Mutezuma,

The great subiection of the Indians
to their king.



There is not in all the dominions of Mutezuma any subiect that payeth not tribute vnto him. The noble men pay their tribute in personal seruice. The husbandmen called Maceualtin, with body and goods. In this sort they are either tenants, or else heires to their possessions. Those which are heires,

doe pay one third part of all their fruite and commoditie that they doe reape or bring vp, as dogs, hennes, soules, conies, golde, silver, stones, salt, ware, honie, mantels, feathers, cotton, and a certaine fruit called Cacao, that serueth for money, and also to eat. Also all kinde of graine, and garden hearbes, and fruites, whereof they doe maintaine themselves.

The Tenants doe pay monethly, or yearely, as they can

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can agree, and because the tribute is great, they are called slaves, for when they may haue licence to eate egges, they thinke it a great fauour. It was reported that they were taxed what they should eate, and all the residue was taken from them. They went verie poorly clothed, yea and the most of their treasure was an earthen pottle, wherein they boyled their hearbes, a couple of quilon stones to grinde their Coyne, and a matte to lie vppon. They did not onely pay this rent, and tribute, but also serued with their bodies at all times when the great King should commaund. They were in such great subjection to their prince, that they durst not speake one word although their daughters should bee taken from them to be vsed at their pleasure. It was reported that of euerie three sons, they deliuered one to be sacrificed, but that report was false, for if it had bene true, the towncs had not bin so replenished with people as they were: and also the noble men did not eate mans flesh, but onely of those which were sacrificed, and they were slaves or prisoners taken in the warres. Assuredly they were cruell butchers, and slue yearely for that bloody sacrifice many men, and some chiltzen, but not so many as was reported. All the aforesaide rentes they brought to Mexico vpon their backs, and in boats, I meane so much as was necessarie for the prouision of the house and Court of Mutezuma, all the residue was spent among Souldiers, and bartred for golde, plate, precious stones, and other rich Jewels, esteemed of Princes, all the which was brought to the treasure. In Mexico was large and great barnes and houses to receiue and keepe the coyne for prouision of the Citie, with officers, and vnderofficers, who did receiue the same, and kept account thereof in booke of painted figures.

Also in euerie Towne was a receiuer, who bare in
his

his hand a rodde or a bush of feathers, and those gaue by their accounts in Mexico. If any such had bene taken with deceite and falshode, death was his reward, yea and his kinred punished with penalties, as of a lignage of a traitor to his Prince. The Husbandmen, if they paid not well their tribute, were apprehended for the same, and if they were found to bee poore through sickness and infirmittie, then they were bozne withall, but if they were found to be lazie and slothfull, they should be used accordingly: but in conclusion, if they paid it not at a day appointed, then they should bee solde for slaues to pay their debt, or else be sacrificed.

There were many other prouinces, which paid a certaine portion, and reknosledged seruice, but this tribute was more of honour then profite. In this sort Mutezuma had more then sufficient to prouide his house and warres, and to heape vp great store in his treasure. Moreouer, he spent nothing in the buildings of his houses, for of long time he had certaine towne that payd no other tribute, but onely to worke and repaire continually his houses at their owne proper cost, and paid all kinde of workemen carrying vpon their backs, or drawing in sledges, stone, lime, timber, water, and all other necessaries for the worke. Likewise they were bound to prouide al the firewood that should be spent in the court, which was a great thing, and did amount to 230. hundred weight a day, which was five hundred mens burthens, and some dayes in the winter much more. And for the Kings Chimneys they brought the barke of Oke trees, which was best esteemed for the light thereof, for they were great force. Mutezuma had 100. cities with their prouinces, of whom he receiued reates, tributes, and bassalage, where he maintained garrison of souldiers, and had treasurers in each of them.

His

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His dominion did extend from the North sea to the South sea, and 600. miles in longitude within the main land, although in very deed there were some townes, as Tlaxcallon, Mechuacan, Panuco, and Teocâtepec, which were his enemies, and payde him neither tribute nor service: but yet the raunsome was much, when any of them was taken.

Also there were other kings and noble men, as of Texcuto & Tlacopan, which were not in subiection vnto him, but onely in homage and obedience, for they were of his own linage, vnto whō Mutezuma married his daughters.

The situation of Mexico.

Mexico at the time when Cortes entred, was a city of 60. thousand houses. The Kings house, & other noble mens houses were great, large, and beautiful, the others were small and roynish, without eyther doores or windowes: and although they were small, yet there dwelled in some of them, two, three, yea, and ten persons, by reason whereof, the Citie was wonderfully replenished with people.

This Citie is built vpon the water, even in the same order as Venice is. All the bodie of the Citie standeth in a great large lake of water. There is three sortes of strêtes verie broad and faire, the one sort are onelie of water, with many brydges: an other sort of onely earth: and the third of earth and water: that is to say, the one halfe earth to walke vpon, and the other halfe for Boates to bring prouision of all sortes. These strêtes are kept alwayes cleane, and the most part of the houses haue two doores, the one towarde the caluery, and the other toward the water, at the which they take Boates to goe where

the west India.

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where they list. And although this Citie is founded by
pon water, yet the same wafer is not good to drinke,
whereof there is brought by conduit water from a place
called Capultepec, three miles distant fro the Citie, which
springeth out of a little hill, at the fote whereof standeth
two Statues or couered Images wrought in stone, with
their Targettes and Launces, the one is of Mutezuma,
and the other of Axaiaca his father.

The water is brought from thence in two pipes or
Canalls in great quantitie, and when the one is soule,
then all the water is conueied into the other, till the first
be made cleane. From this fountaine all the whole Citie
is prouided, so that they goe selling the same water from
strate to strate in little boates, and doe paye a certaine
tribute for the same.

This Citie is deuided into two strates, the one was
called Tlatelulco, that is to say, a litle Island, and the other
Mexico, where Mutezuma his dwelling and courte was,
and is to be interpreted a spring. This strate is the fairest
and most principall, and because of the Kings Pallace
there, the Citie was named Mexico, although the old and
first name of the Citie was Tenuchtitlan, which doth sig-
nifie fruite out of stone, for the name is compounded of
Tecl, which is, stone, and Nuchli, which is fruite, called
Cuba, Tunas. The tree that beareth this fruite, is named
Nopal, and is nothing almost but leaues of a fotebzoade
and round, and three ynches thicke, some moze, and some
lesse, according to the growth, full of thornes which are
venemous: the leafe is greene, and the thorne or picke
rustet. After that is planted, it encreaseeth, growing
leafe vnto leafe, and the fote thereof commeth to be as
the bodie of a tree, and one leafe dothe onely produce
another at the pointe, but at the sides of the same leaues
proceedeth other leaues: And because here in Spaine is

of the same trees and fruites, it needeth no further description.

In some prouinces where water is scante, they vse to drinke the iuice of these leaues. The fruites thereof called Nucheli, is like vnto figges, and euen so hathe his little kernels or graines within, but they are somewhat larger, and crowned like vnto a Pedler. There are of them sundrye coloures, some are greene without, and Carnationlike within, which haue a good taske. Others are yellowe, and others white, and some speckled: the best sozt are the white: it is a fruites that will last long.

Some of them tasteth of peares, and other some of Grapes: it is a colde and a fresh fruites, and best esteemed in the heate of Sommer. The Spaniardes doe moze esteeme them then the Indians. The moze the ground is laboured where they growe, the fruites is so muche the better.

There is yet another kinde of this fruites redde, and that is nothing esteemed, although his tast is not euill, but because it dothe coloure and dye the eaters mouth, lippes, and apparell, yea and maketh his vyne loke like pure blood. Many Spaniardes at their first coming into India, and eating this fruites, were in a maze, and at their wittes ende, thinking that all the blood in their bodies came out in vyne: yea and manye Whissions at their first comming were of the same beliefe: for it hath happened, when they haue bin sent for vnto such as haue eaten this fruites, they not knowing the cause, and beholding the vyne, by and by they ministred medicine to staunch blood: surely a thing to laugh at, to see the Whissions so deceiued. Of this fruites Nucheli and Tecl, which is a stone, is compounded Tenuchelitan. When this Citie was begunne to be founded, it was placed nere vnto a greate stone that stode in the middelt of the lake, at the fote.

foote whereof grewe one of these Nopal trees, and there-
foze Mexico giueth for armes and deuise the foote of a
Nopal tree springing from a stone, according to the Ci-
ties name.

Others doe affirme, that this Cittie hath the name
of his first founder, called Tenuch, being the seconde sonne
of Iztacmixcoatl, whose sonnes and descendentes did first
inhabite this lande of Ananac, called nowe newe
Spaine.

Whosoever the opinions are, certaine it is that the
situation is called Tenuchelican, and the dwellers there
Tenuchca Mexico.

Mexico is as much to say, as a spring or fountaine, ac-
cording to the proprietie of the bowell and speech.

Others doe affirme, that Mexico hath his name of a
more auncient time, whose first founders were called
Mexiti, for vnto this day the Indian dwellers in one stræte
of this city are called of Mexica. The Mexiti toke name
of their principallest Idoll called Mexitli, who was in as
greate veneration as Vitzilopuchili, God of the warre.

Mexico is environed with swæte water, and hath
three waies to come vnto it by calley, the one is from
the West, and that calley is a mile and a halfe long.
Another from the South, and containeth three miles
in length. Eastward the Cittie hath no entrie. But
Southward the Calley is fife miles long, which was the
way that Cortez entred into the Cittie.

The lake that Mexico is planted in, although it see-
meth one, yet it is two, for the one is of water saltish,
bitter, and pecciferous, and no kinde of fishe liueth in it.

And the other water is wholesome, good and swæte, and
bringeth forth small fishe.

The salte water ebbereth and floweth, according

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to the winde that bloweth. The swæte water standeth higher, so that the good water falleth into the euill, and reuerteth not backward, as some hold opinion. The salt lake containeth fiftene miles in breadth, and fiftene in length, and more then fise and fortie in circuite, and the lake of swæte water containeth euen as much, in such sort, that the whole lake containeth more then thirtie leagues, and hath about fiftie towneſes ſituated round about it, many of which Townes doe containe fise thousand houſholdes, and ſome tenne thouſande, yea and one Towne called Tezcucō, is as bigge as Mexico. All this lake of water ſpringeth out of a mountaine that ſtandeth within ſight of Mexico. The cauſe that the one part of the lake is brackiſh or ſaltiſh, is, that the bottome of ground is all ſalt, and of that water great quantite of ſalt is daily made.

In this great lake are about two hundred thouſande little boates, which the Indians call *Acalles*, and the Spaniards call them *Canoas*, according to the ſpeech of Cuba and Santo Domingo, wrought like a kredding trough: ſome are bigger then other ſome, according to the greatneſſe of the bodie of the tree whereof they are made. And where I number two hundred thouſand of theſe boates, I ſpeake of the leaſt, for Mexico alone hath about fiftie thouſande ordinarily to carry and bring vnto the Citie victuall, provision, and paſſengers, ſo that on the market day all the ſtreets of water are full of them.

The Market place of Mexico.

The Market is called in the Indian tongue *Tlanquitzli*: euery pariſh hath his Market place to buy and ſell in: but Mexico, and *Tlatelulco* onely, which are the chiefſt Citties, haue great ſaires and

and places fit for the same, and especially Mexico hath one place where most dayes in the yeare is buying and selling, but euery fourth day is the great Market ordinarily: and the like custome is vsed throughtout the dominions of Mutezuma.

This place is wide and large, compassed round about with doores, and is so great, that a hundred thousand persons come thither to choppe and change, as a Citie most principall in all that region. Wherefore the resort is from farre parties vnto that place. Euery occupation and kind of marchandise hath his proper place appointed, which no other may by any means occupy or disturbe. Likewise precious wares haue their place accordingly, (that is to say) Stone, timber, lime, brick, and all kinde of stuffe wrought, being necessarie to build withall. Also mattes both fine and coarse of sundrie workmanship, also coles, woodde, and all sortes of earthen vessel, glazed and painted very curiously: Deare skinner both raw and tanned in haire and without haire, of manie colours, for thomakers, Bucklers, Targets, Jerkins, and lining of wooden Cozselets: also skinner of other beastes and foule in feathers readie dressed of all sortes, the colours and straungenesse thereof was a thing to beholde. The richest marchandise was Salt, and mantels of Cotton wolle of diuerse colours, both great and small, some for beddes, others for garments and clothing, other for Tapisserie to hang houses, other Cotton cloth for lining breeches, shirtes, table clothes, towels, napkins, and such like things.

There were also mantels made of the leaues of the tree called Meel, and of Palme tree, and Cony haire, which are wel esteemed, being very warme, but y couerlets made of feathers are the best: they sell threde made of Conie haire, peeces of linnen cloath made of Cotton wolle, also

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skaines of threde of all colours : also it is straunge to see the great store of poultrie that is brought to that market. And although they eate the fleshy of the foule, yet the feathers serue for cloathing, mixing one sort with another. There are of these foule so many sortes and seuerall colours that I cannot number them : some wilde, some tame, some water foule, and other some of rapine. All the brauerie of the market, is the place where golde and feathers ioynly wrought is solde, for any thing that is in request is there liuely wrought in gold and feathers, and gallant colours. The Indians are so expert and perfect in this science, that they will worke or make a Butterflie, any wilde beast, trees, roses, flowers, hearbes, rootes, or any other thing, so liuely, that it is a thing marvellous to behold. It hapneth many times that one of these worke men in a whole day will eate nothing, onely to place one feather in his dew perfection, turning and tossing the feather to the light of the Sunne, into the shade or darke place, to see where is his most naturall perfection, and till his worke be finished he will neither eate nor drinke. There are few nations of so much sleame or sufferance. The Art or science of Goldsmiths, among them is the most curious, and verie good workmanship engrauen with toles made of flint, or in moulde. They will cast a platter in moulde with eight corners, and euery corner of seuerall mettall, that is to say, the one of golde, and the other of siluer, without any kinde of solder : they will also found or cast a little caldron with lose handles hanging thereat, as we vse to cast a Well : they will also cast in mould a fish of mettall with one scale of siluer on his back, and another of gold : they will make a Parret or Popinjay of mettall, that his tongue shall shake, and his beade moue, & his wings flutter: they will cast an Ape in mould, that both hands and feet shall stir, and hold a spindle in his hand

hand seeming to spinne, yea and an apple in his hand, as though he would eat it. Our Spaniards were not a little amazed at the sight of these things. For our Goldsmiths are not to be compared vnto them. They haue skill also of Amell worke, and to set any pzeious stone. But now as touching the markette, there is to sell, Golde, Siluer, Copper, Leade, Latton, and Tinne, although there is but little of the thre last mettels mentioned. There are Pearles, Pzeious stones, diuerse and sundrie sortes of Shelles, and Bones, Spunges and other pedlers ware, which certainly are many and straunge sortes, yea, and a thing to laugh at their Haberdash toys & trifles. There are also many kind of hearbes, rootes, and seeds, as well to be eaten, as for medicine, for both men, women, and children, haue great knowledge in hearbes, for through povertie and necessitie, they seeke them for their sustenance and helpe of their infirmities and diseases. They spend little among Physicians, although there are some of that Arte, and manie Poticaries, who doe bring into the market, oyntments, sirops, waters, and other drugges, fit for sicke persons: they cure all diseases almost, with hearbs, yea, as much as for to kill lice, they haue a proper hearbe for the purpose.

The seuerall kindes of meates to be selde, is without number, as Snakes without head and taile, little Dogs gett, Houles, Rattes, long wormes, Lice, yea, and a kinde of earth, for at one season in the yeare they haue Pettes of maile, with the which they rake vp a certaine dust that is byedde vpon the water of the lake of Mexico, and that is kneaded togither like vnto oas of the sea: they gather much of this vittaille, & keep it in heaps, and make therof cakes like vnto byickbats: they sell not onely this ware in y market, but also send it abroad to other faired & markets a far of: they eat this meat w as good stomach

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as wee eate chæse, yea and they holde opinion that this skum or fatnesse of the water, is the cause that such great number of foule commeth to the lake, which in the winter season is infinite.

They sel in this market benison by quarters or whole, as Does, Hares, Conies, and Dogges, and many other beastes, which they bring by for the purpose, and take in hunting. There are a great number of Shoppes that sell all kinde of offall and tripes. It is a wonder to see how so much meate readie dyessed could be spent. There is also flesh and fish roasted, boyled, and baked, Pies and Cakes made of diuerse sortes of egges: the great quantitie of bread is without number. Also coyne of all sortes thresed, and vnthresed. The great store of sundrie kindes of fruites is maruellous, which are there solde, both græne and ripe: there is one sort as bigge as Almondes called Cacao, which is both meate and currant money. There are diuerse kinde of colours to bee solde, which they make of roses, floures, fruits, barks of trees, and other things verie excellent: they sell their Honie of sundrie kinds, oile of Chian, made of a sède like vnto muscarde sède, and ointing any painted cloath therewith, the water can not hurt it, they also dresse therewith their meate, although they haue both butter and larde. Their sundry sortes of wines shalbe declared in another place: it would bee a prodigious thing to rehearse all the thinges that are to bee solde in that market. There are in this faire many artificers, as Packers, Barbers, Cutlers, and many others, although it was thought that among these Indians were none such. All the things recited, and many others which I speake not of, are sold in euery market of Mexico, all the sellers pay a certaine summe for their Shops or standings to the king, as a custome, and they to be preserved and defended from thèues: and for that cause there

there goe certaine Sergeants or officers by & to wone the market to espie out malefactours. In the middelt of the market standeth a house whiche may be sene throughout the sayre, & there sitteth twelue annient men for iudges to dispatch laue matters: their buying and selling is to chaunge one ware for another, as thus, one giueth a hen for a bundell of Maiz, other giue mantels for salte, or money whiche is Cacao, and this is their order to choppe and chaunge: they haue measure and strike for all kinde of coyne, and other earthen measures for Honey and Wine, and if any measure be falsified, they punish the offenders, and bpeake their measures.

The great Temple of Mexico.



The Temple is called Teucalli, that is to say, Gods house, Teuct, signifieth God, and Calli is a house, a bowell very fitte, if that house had bene of the true God. The Spaniards that vnderstand not the language, do pronounce and call those Temples Cues, and the God Vitzilopuchtli, Vchilobos. There

are in Mexico many parish churches, with towres, where in are Chappels and Altars where the images and idols do stand, and those chappels do serue for buriall places of their founders, that the Parishiners are buried in the churchyard. All their temples are of one fashion, therefore it shall be now sufficient to speake of the cathedra church. And euen as those temples are all in generall of one making in that citie, I doe beleue that the like was neuer sene nor heard off. This temple is square, and doth containe euery way as much ground as a crossebow can reach leuell: it is made of stone, with foure dozes that abutteth vpon the three calles, and vpon another parte of the citie, the hath no cal-

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sey but a faire street. In the midst of this Quadern standeth a mount of earth and stone, square likewise, and fiftie fadoime long every way, built vpward like vnto a pyramide of Egypt, sauing the top is not sharpe, but plain and flat, and ten fadome square: vpon the west side, were steps vp to the toppe, in number an hundzeth and fourtene, which being so many, high, and made of good stone, did seme a beautifull thing. It was a straunge sight to behold the Priests, some going vp, and some downe with ceremonies, or with men to be sacrificed. Vpon the toppe of this Temple are two great Altars, a good space distant the one from the other, and so nigh the edge or vzinne of the wall, that scarcely a man mought go behinde them at pleasure. The one Altar standeth on the right hand, & the other on the left, they were but of fine fote high, each of them had the backe part made of stone, painted with monstrous and foule figures, the Chappell was faire and wel wrought of Masons work and timber, euery chappell had thze lofts, one aboue another, sustained vpon pillers, and with the height thereof it shewed like vnto a faire tower, and beautified the Citie a farre off: from thence a man mought see all the Citie and towne rounde aboute the lake, which was vndoubtedly a goodly prospect. And because Cortes & his company should see the beautie thereof, Mutezuma brought him thither, and shewed him all the order of the Temple, euen from the fote to the toppe. There was a certaine plot or space for the idoll priests to celebzate their seruice without disturbance of any. Their generall prayers were made toward the rising of the sun. Vpon each altar standeth a great idoll. Beside this tower that standeth vpon the pyramide, there are fourtie towers great & small belonging to other little temples which stand in the same circuite, the which although they were of the same making, yet their prospect was not west ward, but other

other wayes, because there should be a difference betwixt the great temple and them. Some of these temples were bigger then others, and euery one of a seuerall God, among the which there was one round Temple dedicated to the God of the ayre, called Quecalcouatl, for euen as the aire goeth round about the heauens, euen so; that consideration they made his temple round. The entrance of that Temple had a doore, made like vnto the mouth of a Serpent, and was painted with foule and Diuelish gestures, with great teeth and gums wrought, which was a thing to feare those that should enter in therat, and especially the Christians vnto whom it represented very Hel with that ougly face and monstrous teeth.

There were other Teucalles in the citie, that had the ascending by steps in thre places: all these temples had houses by theselues with all seruice, and priests and particular Gods. At euery doore of the great temple standeth a large Hall & goodly lodgings, both high and lowe round about, which houses were common armories for the citie, for the force and strength of euery towne is the temple, and therefore they haue there placed their storehouse of munition. They had other darke houses full of idols, great and small, wrought of sundry mettals, they are all bathed and washed with blood, and do shew very blacke through their dayly sprinkling & anointing them with the same, when any man is sacrificed: yea, and the wals are an inch thicke with blood, and the ground is a fote thicke of blood, so that there is a diuelish stinch. The priests or ministers go dayly into those Oratories, and suffer none other but great personages to enter in. Yea, and when any such goeth in, they are bound to offer some man to be sacrificed, that those bloody hangmen and ministers of the diuel may wash their handes in blood of those so sacrificed, and to sprinkle their house therewith.

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For their seruice in the kitchen they haue a ponde of water that is filled once a yere, which is brought by conduct from the pꝛincipall fountaine. All the residue of the foresaide circuite serueth for places to breed foule, with gardens of hearbes and swete trees, with Roses and floures for the Altars. Such, so great and strange was this temple of Mexico, for the seruice of the Diuel who had deceived those simple Indians. Where doth reside in the same temple continually fīue thousand persons, and all they are lodged & haue their lining there, for that temple is marvellous riche, & hath diuers towne onely for their maintenance and reparation, and are bounde to sustaine the same alwaies on foote. They doe solve coyne, and maintain all those fīue thousande persons with bread, fruite, flesh, fish, and fire woodde, as much as they neede, for they spende moze fire woodde then is spent in the kings court: these persons doe liue at their hearts ease, as seruants and vassals vnto the Goddes. Mutezuma brought Cortez to this temple, because his men shoulde see the same, and to enforme them of his religion and holinesse, wherof I will speake in an other place, being the most strange and cruellest that euer was heard off.

The Idols of Mexico.



The gods of Mexico, were two thousand in number, as the Indians reported, the chiefest were Vticilopuchtli & Tezcatlipuca, whose images stode highest in the Temple vppon the Altars: they were made of stone in full proportion as bigge as a Giant. They were couered with a latone called Nacar. These images were beset with pearles, pꝛecious stones, & pꝛieces of gold, wrought like birds, beasts, fishes, and

and floures, adorned with Emerals, Turquies, Calcedons, and other litle fine stones, so that when the lawne Naker was taken away, the Images seemed very beautifull to beholde.

The Image had for a girdle great snakes of gold, and for collores or chaines about their neckes, ten hearts of men, made of golde, and each of those Idolles had a counterfainte visor with eyes of glasse, and in their necks death painted: each of these things hadde their considerations and meanings. These two Goddesses were brethren, for Tezcatlipuca was the God of Proudence, and Vircilopucheli God of the warres, who was worshipped and feared more then all the rest.

A wicked
attire.

There was another God, who hadde a greate Image placed vpon the toppe of the Chappell of Idolls, and hee was esteemed for a speciall and singular God aboue all the rest. This God was made of all kinde of seedes that groweth in that Countrey, and being ground, they made a certaine past, tempered with childrens blood, and Virgins sacrificed, who were opened with their razures in the breasts, and their heartes taken out, to offer as first frutes vnto the Idoll. The Priests and Pinisters doe consecrate this Idoll with greate pomp and many Ceremonies. All the Comarcans and Citizens are present at the consecration, with great triumph and incredible deuotion. After the consecration, many deuoute persons came and stiched in the dowry Image precious stones, wedges of golde, and other Jewels. After all this pomp ended, no secular man mought touche that holye Image, no nor yet come into his Chappell, nay scarcely religious persons, except they were Tlamacaztli, who are Priests of order. They doe renew this Image many times with new dough, taking away the elpe, but then blessed is he that can get one peece of the olde ragges for relikes, and

A madde
offering.

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chiefly for souldiers, who thought themselves sure there, with in the warres. Also at the consecration of this Idoll, a certaine vessell of water was blessed with many wordes and ceremonies, and that water was preserved very religiously at the fote of the altar, for to consecrate the King when he should bee crowned, and also to blesse any Capitaine generall, when he should be elected for the warres, with only giuing him a draught of that water.

The Charnell house, or place of dead mens sculles, for remembrance of death.

V Without the Temple, and ouer against the principall dore therof, a stones cast distant, standeth the Charnell house onely of dead mens heads, prisoners in warres, and sacrificed with the knife.

This Monument was made lyke vnto a Theater, more larger then broade, wrought of lyme and stone, with ascending steppes, in the walles whereof was grassef beswyt stone and stone a skull, with the teeth outwards.

At the fote and head of this Theater, were two Towers, made onely of lyme and sculles, the teethe outward, and this wall hauing no other stufte, seemed a straunge sight. At and vppon the toppes of the Theater, were 70. poles, standing the one from the other foure or five fote distant, and eache of them was full of stauces from the fote to the toppes. Eache of these stauces had others made fast vnto them, so that euery of them had five sculles hatched through the temples. Andrewe de Tapia did certifie me, that he and Gonsalo de Umbria did reckon them in one day, and found a hundred thirtie and six thousand sculles on the poles, stauces, and steppes. The other Towers

wers were replenished out of number, a most cruell custom, being only mens heads slaine in sacrifice, although it hath a shewe of humanitie for the remembrance there placed of death. There are also men appointed, that when one skul falleth, to set up another in his place, so that the number may neuer want.

How Cortez tooke Mutezuma
Prisoner.

Hernando Cortez and his company, were sixe daies in beholding and perusing the scituation of the Citie and secrets of the same, with 5 notable thinges befoze rehearsed: they were often visited by Mutezuma, and the Gentlemen of his Court, and abundantly provided of things necessary for his vse, and the Indians of his company.

Like wise his Horses were cherished and serued with greene barley and grasse, whereof there is plentie all the yeare: likewise of coine, meale, roses, and of all thinges that their owners would request, in so much that beddes of floures were made for them in place of litter. A sweete bedde. But yet notwithstanding, although they were in this sorte cherished, and also lodged in so riche a Countrey, where they mighte fill their purses, they were not yet all contente and inerric, but rather with great feare and care, especially Cortez, who hadde the onely care as head and chiefe Captaine for the defence of his fellowes, hee (I say) was pensive, noting the scituation of the Citie, the infinite number of people, the state and maiestie of Mexico, yea and some disquietnesse of his owne company, who would come and laye vnto his charge the snare and nette that they were in, in thinking it a thing impossible that anye of them could escape.

Determinati-
on of Cortez.

if Mutezuma, were therunto determined, or else with the least muteny in the worlde, that might be raised in the Citie, although that every inhabitant shoulde throw but one stone at them, or else to bzeake vp the drawbridges, or withdrawing their victuals, things very easie to be done. With this greate care that he had of the preservation of his fellowes, and to remedie the perill and danger that he stood in, he determined to apprehend Mutezuma, and to bulde foure foysses to haue the lake in subiection, which he hadde tosoze imagined, and without the apprehension of the King, he coulde not come by the Kingdome: he would very glably haue built the foysses out of hand, but he left off that pretence, only because he would not delay the imprisonment of Mutezuma, where, in consisted the effect of all his businesse, so that forthwith he minded to put in execution his intent, without giuing any of his company to vnderstand therof.

The quarrell wherewith he had armed himselfe for that purpose, was, that the Lord Qualpopoca hadde slaine nine Spaniardes: like wise encouraged him the great presumption of his letters written to the Emperour Charles his king, wherein he wrote that he would take Mutezuma prisoner, and dispossesse him of his Emprye. These causes considered, he toke the letters of Pedro Hircio, wherein was written, howe Qualpopoca was the cause of the death of nine Spaniardes, & put those letters into his pocket, and walking vp and downe his lodging, tossing to and fro these imaginations in his brayne, full of care of the greate enterpryse that he had in hande, yea he himselfe iudging the matter doubtfull, and his head being in this sort occupied, he chanced to espie one wall more whiter then the rest, and beholding the same, he sawe that it was a doze lately dammed vp, and calling vnto him two of his seruants (for all the residue were a sleepe) be-
cause

cause it was late in the nighte, he opened that doze, and went in, and there found sundry halles, some with Idols, some with gallant feathers, Jewels, precious stones, plate, yea and such an infinite quantitie of golde, that the sight thereof amazed him, and other gallant things that made him to maruell. He shutte this doze againe as well as he moughte, without touching any part of that treasure, because he woulde not make any vproze thereabout, noz yet to delaye the imprisonment of Mutezuma, for that treasure was alwaies there to be had.

Treasury of
Mutezuma.

The next daye in the morning came certpaine Spaniards vnto him, and manye Indians of Tlaxcallan, saying that the Citizens did goe about to conspire their death, and to breake downe the bridges of the calleyes, to bring their purpose the better to passe. So that with this newes, being true or false, Cortes left the one halfe of his men to defende and keepe his lodging, and at euery crosse streete he planted one, and the residue he sent to the Court by two and two, and three and three, and he himselfe came to the pallaice, saying that he must talke with Mutezuma of matters that did import their liues. Cortez was secretly armed. Mutezuma hearing howe Cortez attended for him, came forth and receiued him, taking him by the hande, and placed him in his seate thirtie Spaniards waited vpon Cortes, and the residue abode without at the doze.

Cortes saluted Mutezuma according to his accustomed manner, and began to iest and talke merily as he was wont to doe. Mutezuma being carelesse of the thing that Fortune hadde prepared against him, was also very merrie, and pleased with that conuersation. he gaue vnto Cortez Jewels of golde, and one of his daughters, and other noble mens daughters to others of his company. Cortez receiued the gift, for other wise it had bene

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a frent

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a frent vnto Mutezuma. But yet he enforzmed him, that he was a married man, and that he coulde not marrie with his daughter, for the Christian law did not per mitte the same, nor yet that any Christian mought haue more then one wife, vppon paine of infamy, and to be marked in the forehead.

After all this talke ended, Cortes toke the letters of Pedro Hircio, and caused them to be interpreted vnto Mutezuma, making his grievous complainte againste Qualpopoca, who hadde slaine so many Spaniards through his commaundement, yea and that his subiects had published, that they would kill the Spaniards, and breake downe the bridges.

Mutezuma excused himselfe earnestly, as well of the one as of the other, saying, the report given out against his subiectes was false and vntrue, and as for Qualpopoca who had slaine the Spaniards, he was innocent thereof: and because that he shoulde see the troth, he called incontinent certaine of his seruantes, commaunding them to goe for Qualpopoca, and gaue vnto them his seale, which was a stone that he ware at his breast, engraued with the figure of the God Virzilopuehli, and the messengers departed therewith incontinent.

Cortez replied and said, My Lord, your highnesse must goe with me to my lodging, and there abide, vntill your messengers retorne with Qualpopoca, and the certaintie of the death of my men: In my lodging youre highnesse shall rule and commaund as you doe here in Court, your person shall be well vsed, wherefore take you no care, for I will haue respecte vnto youre honoz, as to mine owne proper, or the honoz of my King, beseeching you to pardon me in this my request, for if I should do otherwise, and dissemble with you, mine owne company would be offended with me, saying that I doe not defende them
accoz,

according to dutie. Wherefore commaund your house, holde seruantes to repose themselues without alteration, so; be you assured that if any hurt come vnto mee, or vnto anye of mine, your person shall pay the same with life, considering that it lieth in your hande to goe quietly with me.

Mutezuma was soze amazed, saying, Sir, my person is not fitte to be a prisoner, yea, and though I woulde permitte the same, my subjectes would not suffer.

They abode arguing the matter nere foure houres, and at length Mutezuma was content to goe, hauing promised that he shoulde rule and gouerne as he was wont to do. Cortez commaunded a place in his lodging to be trimmed for him, and he went forthwith thither with Cortes. There came many noble men barefooted, weeping and lamenting the case, carrying their best garments vnder their armes, and brought a rich seate, whereon Mutezuma was placed, & they carried him vppon their shoulders.

When it was blowen abroade in the Citie that Mutezuma was carried prisoner to the Spaniards lodging, all the Citie was on an vppore: but yet Mutezuma did resort the Gentlemen that carried and followed him weeping, praying them to cease their lamentation, saying that he was not prisoner, nor yet went with the Christians against his will, but for his onely pleasure. Cortes appointed a Spanish garde for him, with a Captaine, the which he dayly chaged, and had Spaniards alwaies in his company to make him pastime. Also poze Mutezuma was A sorrowfull contented with their conuersation, & gaue the still rewards, pastime. He was serued with his owne seruants Indians, as at home in his pallace. Cortes, alwaies intreated him to put off sadness, & to be merrie, permitting him to dispatch suters, & to deale in all affaires of his estate, and to commune and talke openly or secretly with his noble men as he was wont to

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do, and that was but onely a baite to bying them to the hooke. There was neuer Greeke nor Romaine, nor any other nation since the name of Kings was ordeined, did giue ſo like interpriſe, as Herrando Cortez did, in taking Mutezuma priſoner in his owne houſe, being a moſt mightie King, & in a moſt ſtrong ſort among infinite people, he hauing but only 450. companions.

The creation of Hunting, which
Mutezuma vſed



Mutezuma had not only all the libertie that he deſired in the Citie, being priſoner among the Spaniards, but alſo Cortes permitted him to hunt and hauke, or to go to the temple, for he was very deuoute, and a great hunter.

When he went a hunting, he was carried vpon mens ſhoulders with eight or ten Spaniardes in his guard, and three thouſand Mexicans, who were Gentlemen, his ſervants, and hunters, of whom he hadde a great number, ſome to ſeake the game, others to beate the courtes, and others to marke. Some of thoſe Hunters were only for hares and conies, other for all ſorts of Deere, Wolves, foxes, and ſuch like. They were very perſite with theyr bowes, and good markemen, for he that miſſed his marke at foureſcore paſes diſtant was puniſhed. It was ſtrange to ſee the number of people that wente with him on hunting, and to ſee the ſlaughter of beaſts killed, with hande, ſnaues, nettes, and bowes, ſome of thoſe beaſts were tame, and other braue and ſearfull, as Lyons, Tigers, and Buncees. It is a harde thing to take a ſierce Lion in hunting as they do, being in manner a naked people, and the beaſt couragious and ſtrong, but yet the Power be ſaith, ſlight and cunning is better then ſtrength.

It is a moze strange thing to take any foule that flieth in the aire, as their Falconers do, for after they haue once marked and set eie vpon any foule, the Falconers of Mutezuma will undertake to catch him, although the foule be neuer so swift of wing, being at the least so commanded by the King. It happened one day that Mutezuma stood in his Gallerie with his garde of Spaniards, who had espied a faire Hauke soaring in the ayre, oh quoth they what a faire Hauke flieth yonder, Mutezuma hearing their talke, called vnto him certaine of his Falconers, commanding them to followe that Hauke, and to bring him vnto him. The Falconers went to fulfil his request, and followed that foule with such diligence, that in short space they brought the hauke vnto him, who presented the same vnto the Spaniards, a thing truly almost incredible, but yet certified by worde and writings of the present witnesses. Their chiefeft and most pleasant pastime of hawking was, of Hightes, Hauens, Crows, Pies, and rothebirds of hartie stomacke, & slow in flight, great and small of all sortes, for the which he had Eagles, Wyvers, and other foule of rapine, marvellous swift of wing, and such as would mount verie high in the ayre, with the which they murdered Hares, Wolves, and (as some say) Hartes.

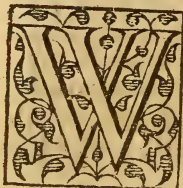
He had other foulers, that vsed Nettles, Snares, and sundry engens, Mutezuma vsed much to shot in a trunk, and with his bow killed many wilde beasts. His houses of pleasure, as I haue before declared, stood fire myles from the Citie in pleasant wooddes: and alwayes when he went a hunting after the time that hee was prisoner, the same day he would returne againe to Cortez his lodging, although he banquetted & feasted with the Spaniards at his places of sporting and pastime, and would alwayes at his returne to his lodging giue some present vnto the,

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that had accompanied him that day.

Cortez seeing the liberalitie of Mutezuma, saide vnto him : sir, my companie are unruly fellows, and as I vnderstand, they haue found out some of your treasure, and haue made spoile thereof : wherfoze I would know your pleasure what shall be done with the. And in effect it was the treasure that Cortez himselte had founde out. Mutezuma answered, saying, sir that treasure which they haue founde, did appertaine vnto the Gods : But yet notwithstanding, let them leaue the feathers, and all such things as are neither golde nor silver, and all the residue take for you and them, and if you will haue moze, I will prouide it for you.

How Cortez began to plucke downe the
Idols of Mexico.



When Mutezuma went into the temple, he went leaning vpon a noble mans arme, or else was led betwene two, and a noble personage went alwayes before him with three smal wands in his hand, signifying thereby, that the king in person was there at hand, and in token also of iustice and correction.

If he had bene carried vpon mens shoulders then at his alighting downe, he tooke one of those rods into his owne hand. He was a Prince full of ceremonies in all his doings, but the substance of his estate is already declared, from the time that Cortez entred into Mexico, vntill this present. Those first dayes that the Spaniards came to the Citie, and as oft as Mutezuma went to the Temple, Indian men were slaine in sacrifice. And to prohibit such abominable crueltie and sin, committed in the presence of the

the Christians who went in cōpany of Mutezuma, Cortes required Mutezuma, to commaunde that no mans flesh should be any moze spoyled, or blood shed in sacrifice, and in not fulfilling his request, he would destroy both the temple and Citie. Also he signified vnto him, that he himselfe would throw downe the idols, befoze his presence, and all the Citizens.

Mutezuma replied to his demaūd, saying: It may please you to leaue off your determination, least that in so doing all the Citie fall into an vpproze and rebellion to defende their good Gods, and auncient religion, the which Gods had alwayes pzeuited them of water, bread, health, light, and all other things needfull. This notwithstanding, the first time that Mutezuma went to the Temple after his imprisonment, Cortez and his companie went with him, and euery of them laid hands vpon the idols, and threwe them downe headlong from their seates, and Altars, and other Chappels. Mutezuma with this sight was in great agonie, yea and his subiects readie to take weapon to slay them there pzeent, but yet Mutezuma commaunded his subiects to stay from their pzeence: beseeching Cortez to stay from his proceedings, at whose request Cortes ceased, for he thought, as yet time serued not for the purpose and pzeence: but he declared vnto them by his interpreters, as followeth.

The exhortation that Cortes made to Mutezuma, and to the Citizens of Mexico, concerning their Idols.

All creatures in the world (mightie prince, and yee gentlemen and religious persons, whether it be ye here or we in Spaine, or whatsoeuer other Nation that it may be) haue I say, all one beginning and ending,

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ending of mortall life, which is had from God: we are all formed and made of one mettall, and haue all soules and senses, euen so doubtlesse as we are like in proportion of bodie and soule, yea and kinsfolke in blood, although that by the prouidence of the same our God, some are bozne faire and beautifull, and other some soule and disfigured: some of one colour, and some of another: some prudent and wise, and other some sonde and foolish, without either iudgement or vertue: in the which his maruelous woꝝks God sheweth himselfe iust, holy and almightie, giuing those seuerall giftes, to the intent that the wise and learned might teach the rude and ignozant, and to guide the blinde into the right way of saluation, by the steppes of true and vnfeigned religion.

Wherefore I and my fellowes as your guests and kinsmen, according to equitie doe procure and wish the same vnto you. A man and his life consisteth in three things, as ye shall vnderstande, that is, bodie, soule and goddes: as for your goddes and riches, which is the least that wee desire, for ye know well that we haue taken nothing forscible from you, but onely those things which yee haue freely and liberally giuen vs. Likewise we haue not hurt, misused or molested your persons, wiues or children, nor yet do meane any such thing, your soules health onely is the thing we seeke, for your saluation, and that wee now pretend to shew, and to giue vnto you perfitte notice of the true and euerlasting God. There is none of naturall iudgement can denie, but that there is one God, but yet through ignoraunce and deceit of the Diuell, will also thinke that there are many Goddes, and not acerte vnto the true God. But I doe say and most assuredly certifie you, that there is no other true God, but onely he whom we Christians doe serue, adore and worship, the which is one eternall, without beginning, and without ende,

the

the only creatoꝝ and govenour of things created: he alone made the Heauens, the Sunne, the Moone, and Starres, the which his creatures you doe worship: he (I say) founded and made the Sea, and the sundry and marvellous fishes therein: he planted and made the lande, with all the monstrous beastes therein, soules likewise in the ayre, Planetes, Hearbes, Stones and such like. All the which creatures, ye as blinde and ignozant do hold foꝝ Goddes.

Our almightie God after he had finished and made all the foꝝmer woꝝkes with his owne blessed hands, made one man and one woman, and being so foꝝmed and wrought, he put a soule and bzeath into each body, and the deliuered the woꝝlde vnto them, shewiꝝg them Paradiſe anned glory. So that of that manne and woman, we all moꝝtall menne proceeded in generation, and in this soꝝte are the handy woꝝke of God, kinsmen and bzethren. Nowe if we will come vnto God our father, it is needefull and necessary that we be good, vertuous, pitifull, innocent and vnder obedience, the which ye can not be if you woꝝshippe statues, images, idols, and vse bloudy sacrifice of mans fleshe. Is there any of you that woulde willingly be slaine? no truely: why then doe you slea other so cruelly? and where you can put no soules, why doe you take them from thence? there is none of you, noꝝ your false Gods, that can make soules, noꝝ can foꝝge mens bodies of fleshe and bone, foꝝ if ye coulde, there is none of you woulde be without children, according to your owne appetite and desire, in fashioꝝ, beautie and woꝝkemanſhip. But where our God of heauen doth make all creatures, he bleth therein his owne descretion, and giveth children to whome hee pleaseth: and therefore is he GOD alone, and foꝝ these causes shoulde ye haue esteeme, and woꝝshippe him foꝝ such a mightie God, desiring of him by prayꝝrs to giue raine and temperature, that the earth

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It was maruel
that Cortez
was not taken
for an here-
tike.

may bring forth Cozne, Fruite, Hearbes, Flesh, Foule, and all other necessaries for the sustentation of life. All these things the harde stones giue not vnto you, no no: yet your ovy wooden images and cold mettall, neither yet the small seedes wherewith your seruants and slaues, with their filthie handes doe make these images and foule statues, the whiche ye doe worshippinge. What sonde people and madde religious persons, who worshipping their owne workmanshippe, doe ye thinke that they are Gods that rotte and molye away, and haue no life, and can neither helpe no kill? Therefore I say vnto you, that nowe and hereafter there is no cause that ye shoulde haue anye moe idolles, no yet any moe slaughters for sacrifice, no no: yet to make any moe prayers or supplications vnto them, being bothe Blinde, Deafe, and Dumme.

Will ye knowe who is God, and where he is: lisse vp youre eyes vnto Heauen, and then shall you vnderstande that aboute is a Godhead or Deitie that moueth the heauens, and ginereth the course of the Sunne, ruleth the Land, and replenisheth the Sea, who prouideth for Man and Beast bothe Cozne and Water. This God whome ye nowe imagine in your hartes, him (I say) serue and worshippinge, not with death of menne or bloud, by sacrifice abhominable, but with deuotion and humble prayer as we Christians doe. And consider well, that to teach and instruct you these things, was the cause of our comming hither.

With this exhortation, Cortez aplaked the yre of the Bishops and Citizens: their idols being throwen downe, Mutezuma toke order that no moe shoulde be sette vp, commaunding to sweepe and make cleane the Chappells of the stinking bloud that was in them, forbidding sacrifice of mans flesh, Mutezuma and his officers made a soleme

both

bold and promise to permit no more slaughter of men, and to set up a Crosse for remembrance of the death and passion of Iesu Christ bozne of the virgin Marie. The which their promise was well fulfilled, for after that day the Spaniards could neuer heare nor finde of any more sacrifice: But yet there abode in their hearts a mortal rancor, the which could not long be dissimuled.

Truly in this worthe fact Cortez got more honor then though he had ouercome them in battaile.

The burning of the Lord Qualpopoca, and other Gentlemen.

After twentie dayes that Mutezuma had bene prisoner, returned the messengers who had gone with the seale for Qualpopoca, and brought him, his sonne, and other fiftene principall persons, with them, the which by enquirie made, were culpable and partakers in the counsell and death of the nine Spaniards. Qualpopoca entre into Mexio, accompanied like a great Word as he was, being bozne upon his seruants shoulders in rich furniture. Asone as he had saluted Mutezuma, he and his sonne were deliuered unto Cortez, with the other fiftē Gentlemen. Cortez placed them asunder, and commanded them to be put in irons, and their examinations taken, they confessed that they had slaine those Spaniards in battaile.

Cortez demaunded of Qualpopoca if he were subiect to Mutezuma; why (quoth he) is there any other Prince to whom I might be in subiection: giuing almost to vnderstand that he was a Lord absolute. Cortez answered, that a farre greater Prince was the King of Spaine, whose subiects vnder colour of friendship and safe conduct, he

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had slaine. But (quoth he) now shalt thou make payment thereof. And being again moze straighter examined, they confessed that they had slaine two Spaniards by the aduice and inducement of the great Prince Mutezuma, and the rest were slaine in the warres, and had assaulted their houses, and entred their countrey, wherefoze they helde it lawfull to kill them.

Through the confession pronounced by their owne mouthes, sentence was given against them, and they condemned to be burned, which sentence was openly executed in the market place in sight of all the people, without any mutinie or slander, and with great silence, terror and feare of the new manner of iustice which they sawe there executed vpon so noble a man, in the chiefe seate and kingdom of Mutezuma, being guests and straungers.

The cause of the burning of
Qualpopoca.

AT the time that Cortez departed from Vera Crux, he left in commission to Pedro Hircio, to procure to inhabite in that place which is called Almeria, and not to permit Francisco de Garay to sojourne there, soz so much as once he was bzien from that coast. Now Hircio to fulfill his commission, sent to require those Indians with peace and friendship, and to yeld themselves soz vassals of the Emperoz. Qualpopoca Lord of Nahuclan, which is now called as aforesaid Almeria, sent to aduertise Pedro Hircio, that he could not come to yeld his obedience, soz the enemies that were in the way: but if it would please him to send some of his men, soz the security of the way, he would willingly come vnto him. Hircio hearing this answer, sent foure of his men, giuing credit

credite to his message, and for the desire he had to inhabit there.

When the foure Spaniards came into the prouince of Nahuclan, there met with them many armed men, who slue two of them, and made there of a great triumph: the other two escaped soze wounded, and returned with that newes to the town of Vera Crux. Pedro Hircio beleueing that Qualpopoca had done that iniury, armed out against him fiftie Spaniards, and ten thousand Indians of Zempoallan, with two hozes, and two peeces of Ordnance.

Qualpopoca hearing this newes, came with a mightie power to driue them out of his Countrey, and in that encounter seuen Spaniards were slaine, and many Zempoallanezes, but at the end he was overcome, his Countrey spoiled, and Towne sacked, and many of his armie slaine and taken captiues. The prisoners declared, that by the commaundement of the great Lord Mutezuma, all this vpproze was attempted by Qualpopoca: it might well be, for at the houre of death they confessed the same, But some affirme they said so, but to excuse themselues, and to lay the fault to the Mexicans. Hircio wrote these newes to Cortez being in Chololla, and ththrough these letters Cortez apprehended Mutezuma (as is afoze declared.)

How Cortez put a paire of Giues on Mute-

zuma his legs.



Before the execution of Qualpopoca, and his fellowes, Cortes declared vnto Mutezuma, that Qualpopoca and his company had confessed, that by his aduice and commaundement, the nine Spaniards were slaine, wherein he had done very euill, they being his friends and guests: but (quoth he) if

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it were not in respect of the loue I beare vnto you; this matter should not in this sort be shut vp, and then knoched a paire of Gues on his legges, saying; he that killeth ought to be killed, accozding to the lawes of God. These things did Cortez, because he should occupie himselfe in his owne griefe and sorrow, and to let other men passe.

Mutezuma wared pale with countenance of death, though the great feare that he was in, seeing himselfe in irons, a new and strange thing for such a great king, excusing himself that he was innocent of the fact. And as soone as the execution of burning was done, Cortes commaunded to put away the irons that Mutezuma ware, offering him libertie, and willing him to go vnto his owne pallace, who reioyced much to see himselfe out of the irons, and gaue Cortes most heartie thanks, and refused to go home to his owne pallace, surmising the offer was but words, or else fearing least his subiects would kill him, seeing him out of the Spaniards power, for permitting himselfe to be taken prisoner, and so to be kept. He said also, that if he went from them, his subiects would rebell, and compel him to kill the Spaniards.

Truly the poore simple soule was of small heart and courage, to suffer himselfe to be taken prisoner, and after his imprisonment would neuer procure libertie, Cortes offering it vnto him, and many of his noble men desiring him. And remaining in that order, there was none in Mexico durst offend any Spaniarde for feare of displeasing him, for Qualpopoca came 70. leagues with onely warning him that the great Lord had sent for him, shewing him the figure of his seale: yea and all the pères of his realme that dwelt farthest off, were ready to obey his commaundements.

the west India.

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How Cortes sent to seeke for Mines of golde
into diuerse places.

Cortes had a great desire to know how far the Empire of Mutezuma did extend, and what friendship was betwixt him and other Kings and Princes Comarcans, and also to gather together a good sum of gold to send to Spaine to the Emperoz, for his custome of fift part, with full relation of the Countrey people, and things happened untill that day. Wherefore he prayed Mutezuma to shewe him where the mines were, from whence he and his subiects had the gold and plate. Mutezuma granted to his request, and incontinent appointed eight Indians, of the which foure were Goldsmiths, who had knowledge and vnderstanding of Mines, and the other foure were guides for the iourney. He commaunded them that by two and two they should goe into foure Provinces, that is say, Zucolla, Malinaltepec, Tenich, and Tutepec, with other eight Spaniards, which Cortes appointed, to haue knowledge of the riuers and mines of gold, and to bring a mofser of the same. The eight Spaniards departed on their iourney, with the other 8. Indians, with tokens from Mutezuma. Zucolla is 80. leagnes from Mexico, and the Lord thereof is subiect to Mutezuma, who shewed vnto the Spaniards three riuers of gold, & gaue of each riuer a mofser thereof, although it were but little, for with want of knowledge they knew not well the manner how to get it out of the riuer. These messengers in their iourney to and fro, passed through three provinces full of people and habitation, with good buildings & fruitfull ground, and the people of the one of them called Tlaxmacolapan, are of good reason and iudgement, and better apparelled then the Mexicans.

Malinal-

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Malinaltepec is 70. leagues frō Mexico, from whence also they brought mossers of gold, the which is had out of a great riuer, by the naturals of that Countrey.

Tenich standeth by toward the head of the same riuer of Malinaltepec, who are people of another language, and would not permit our men to haue relation of the thing that they sought. The Lord of that place is called Coatelicamatl, who is not subiect to Mutezuma, noz yet is his friend, thinking that his men had bene espies: but when he was enformed who they were, he gaue the Spaniards licence to be resoluēd of their affaires, but straitly commaunded, that the Indians of Mexico should not presume to come into his dominion. When the Mexicans heard these newes, they required the Spaniards not to credite that Cazike, saying, that he was an euil and a cruell man, and would surely kill them. Our men were somewhat amazed, fearing to talke Coatelicamatl, although they had his licence, seeing the people of the Countrey armed with Launces of fīue and twentie foote long: but yet at length leauing cowardice aside, they proceeded forwarde. Coatelicamatl receiued them courteously, and shewed them fīre or seuen riuers with golde, out of the which graines of golde were taken in his presence, who gaue the same mosser vnto them, and sent also his Embassadors to Cortez, offering his land and person vnto him, with certaine mantels and Jewels of golde.

Cortez more reioyced of the Embassage, then of the gold and presents, knowing thereby that Mutezuma his enemies desired his friendship: but Mutezuma and his counsell liked not the matter, for although Coatelicamatl is no great Lord, yet his people are good souldiers, and his Countrey full of wilbernesse, of Rocks and Mountaines. The other that went to Tutepec, which standeth nere the sea coast, and twelue leagues frō Malinaltepec, returned

returned likewise with moster of golde of two Riuers, and brough theselues that the Countrey was fit to build vpon, with hope to reape much golde, finding once an arte to get it out of the riuer.

Cortez hearing this selues, prayed Mutezuma to build a house there in the name of the Emperoure Charles, who incontinente sente thither woorkemen and labourers, whiche within two monethes hadde built a greate house, and other three little houses round aboute it, with a ponde of water full of fishe, and five hundred Duckes, and a thousand five hundred Turkie cockes and hennes, and muche housholde stuffe, so that the gifte was worth twentie thousand Castlins of golde. He gaue vnto him also twentie bushels of the graine called Centli, readye sowed, and two thousand stockes of trees called Cacauatl, whiche bringeth forth the fruite Cacao, that serueth for money and meate. Cortez began this husbandrye, but yet made not any ende thereof, with the coming of Pamfilo de Naruaiz, and the voyage in Mexico, which shortly followed. He also besoughte Mutezuma to certifie him if there were any sure porte or harbour on the Sea coast, where the Spanissh nauie might ride in safetie: he answered that he knew of none, but that he would sende to make enquirie thereof. And forthwith he commaunded all that coast to be painted in a cloath made of cotton wool, with all the riuers, bayes, creekes and capes that were within his dominion. In all the same portraiture did not appeare anye porte, skale, or sure roade, sauing a gulfe that falleth out of the Mountaines, which place is now called the harbor of Saint Martine, and Saint Anthonic in y^e prouince of Coazacoalco. The Spaniards thought the same to be a straight or passage into the South sea, to passe vnto the Maluccos and spicerie, but they were deceiued although they beleued the thing that they desired.

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Cortes for this purpose sent tenne Spaniards, all good mariners and Pilots, in compaigne of the Indians that Mutezuma sent one that voyage at his owne cost.

They departed, and came to Chalohicoeca, where first they came a land, the which place is now called S. Iohn de Vlhua.

They wente 70. leagues along the coast, without finding any Riuer, although they mette with many brookes of shallowe water, not fitte for a roade for Shippes.

They apoynted at Coazacoalco, the Roade whereof was enemie to Mutezuma; his name was Tuchiulec, who friendly receiued the Spaniards, for he hadde intelligence of them, at their lying at Potonchan. He gaue vnto them boates, to sounde and seeke the Riuer, where they founde five sadome in deapth, and wente vppon that Riuer twelue leagues, where they descryed many great towne, and it seemed a fruitefull soyle. This Cazicke Tuchiulec, sente vnto Cortes with the Spaniards certain gold, precious stones, and cloth of cotten, with apparrell made of skinnies, and tygers, requesting his friendship, and to admitte him tributarie to the Emperour, paying yearly a certaine propoztion of his riches, with such condition, that the Indians of Culhua should not enter into his iurisdiction.

Cortes muche reioyced with these messages, and was glad of the finding of the faire riuer, for the Marriners hadde enformed him, that from the riuer of Gijalua vnto Panuco, was no riuer to be found, but I beleue they were deceiued. Cortes returned backe againe some of those messengers, with a present of Spanish ware for Tuchiulec, and to be better informed of all his meaning, with a speciall charge to know the commoditie of that port and Countrey, who went, and in shorte time returned well satisfied of their demaund: where vpon, Cortez sent thither Iohn Velasques de Leon, for Captain of a hundred and fifty Spaniards,

Spaniards, with commission to build a fort.

The imprisonment of Cacama,
King of Tezcucó,



He weake courage and stomacke of Mutezuma, caused his subiects not onely to murmure, but also to seeke meanes of rebellion, especially his nephew Cacamazin, Lord of Tezcucó, who was a stout yong man and an honorable, and one that receiued great grieffe of his Uncles imprisonment: and seeing that the matter seemed long, he besought his Uncle to procure his libertie, and to shewe himselſe a Lord, and not a slave: but seeing at length that hee could not accept and follow his counsell, he began to stirre in the matter, threatening the death and destruction of the Spaniards. Some said, that Cacama did begin that matter, to reuenge the iniurie and dishonour done vnto his vnckle. Others saide, that his meaning was to make himselſe King of Mexico. Others held opinion, that his pretence was onely to make an end of the Spaniards. But let it be for what soeuer purpose. Once he gathered a great army, which he could not want, although Mutezuma was prisoner, especially against the Spaniards. He published that he would redeme his vnckle out of captiuitie, and expulse the straungers, or else kill and eate them.

This was a terrible newes for the Christians, but yet for all those bragges Cortez dismaide not, rather he determined forthwith to prepare himselſe for the warres, and to besiege him in his owne house and towne, saying that Mutezuma disturbed him, saying that Tezcucó was a place very strong, and situated in water, and that Cacama was a man of bolde and stout courage,

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and had at commaundement the Indians of Culhua, and was also Lord of Culhuacan and Otumpa, which were fortes of great strength, thinking to bring the matter to a better passe another way: so that Cortes ruled himselfe by the counsell of Mutezuma, and sent vnto Cacama, praying him to haue in remembraunce the friendshippe that had bene betwixt them two, from the time that he came and brought him into Mexico, and that alwayes peace was better then warre, and especially for a noble man of vassals, for the beginning of warres was pleasant to him that knewe not what warres meante: and in so doing, he should doe both pleasure and seruice to the King of Spaine.

Cacama was
wise.

Cacama answered, that he had no friendship with him that would take away his honour and kingdome, and that the warres which hee pretended, was profitable for his vassals, and in defence of their Country and Religion, yea and before he determined peace, he meant to rueenge his Uncles wrongs and his goddes.

Also (quoth hee) what haue I to doe with the King of Spaine, who is a man that I know not, nor yet wold gladly heare of him.

Cortez turned againe to admonishe and require him diuers times to leaue off his determination, and willed Mutezuma to commaunde him to accepte his offer.

Whereupon Mutezuma sent vnto him, desiring him to come vnto Mexico, to take some order in those controuersies and discordes betwixt him and the Spaniards.

Cacama answered very sharply vnto his Uncles request, saying, If you had bloud in your eye, or the heart of a Prince, you would not permitte your selfe to be prisoner, and Captiue of foure poore Strangers, who with

with their faire speach, and flattering talke haue bewitched you, and vsurped your kingdome, no no; yet suffer the Goddess of Culhua to be thzowne downe and spoyled, yea and the Mexican religion and holy places violated, and troden with théeues fecte and deceiuers: like wise the honour, glozie, and fame of your pzedecessours blotted and abased, thzough your saint stomacke and cowardise. But notwithstanding, according to your request, and to repair our religion, to restoze the Goddess to their Temples, to pzeserne the kingdome, and to pzocure libertie for you and the Citie, I will obey your commaundement: But how: not with my hands in my bosome, but like a warrior, to kill those Spaniards who haue so affronted the nation of Culhua. Our men stode in great perill, as well of the losing of Mexico as of their own liues, if this war and matenie had not some bene qualified: for why? Cacama was valiant, stoute, and a good souldier, yea, and well furnished of men of warre: also the Citizens of Mexico, were desirous of the same, for to redẽm Mutezuma their Prince, and to kill the Spaniards, or else to expulse them out of the Citie.

But pze Mutezuma remedied the matter, knowing or foresẽing, that warres would not pzeuaile, yea and be leued, that in the end all should fall vpon his backe. He dealt with certaine captaines and gentlemen that dwelt in Tezuco with Cacama, to appzehend him, and bzing him prisoner, cõsidering that he was their king and yet aliue. But whether it were, that those Captaines had serued Muzuma in the warres, or whether it were for gifts and rewards, they appzehended Cacama, being in counsell among them, treating of his warres pzetended, and embarked him in a boate armed for the purpose, and so bzought him to Mexico, without any further slaunder or strife, and when he was comen to Mexico, they put him

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Cacama pri-
soner.

on a riche seate ; as the Kings of Tezcuco were wont to sitte vpon, being the greatest Prince in all that lande next vnto Mutezuma : and in this sort brought him befoze his vncke, who would not looke vpon him, but commaunded him to bee deliuered vnto Cortez, who incontinent clapped a paire of gines on his legges, and a paire of manacles on his hands, and put him into sure Guard and custodie.

After that Cacama was in this order prisoner, with the consent of Mutezuma was elected Lozde and Prince of Tezcuco and Culhuacan, Cucuzca, Cacama his yonger brother, who was abiding in Mexico with his vncke, and fledde from his brother : Mutezuma did entitle him with ceremonies accustomed vnto Princes newly elected and chosen. So that forthwith he was obeyed in Tezcuco by Mutezuma his commaundement, for he was there better beloued then Cacama, who was somewhat of a crooked nature. In this sort was remedied all the former perill, but if there had bene many Cacamas, it would haue fallen out otherwise.

Here Cortes made kings, & commaunded with as great authoritie as though he had obtained alreadie the whole Empire of Mexico : and certainly sithens his first entrie into that countrey, he had an assured hope to win Mexico, and to be Lozd ouer the whole state of Mutezuma.

The Oration that Mutezuma made vnto
his Noble men, yeelding himselfe
to the King of Castile.

After the imprisonment of Cacama, Mutezuma proclaimed a Parliament, vnto the which came all the Seniors Comarcans, and being all together, hee made the Oration following vnto them.

My kinsmen, friends and seruants, ye doe well knowe that eightene yeres I haue borne your king, as my fathers and Grandfathers were, and alwayes I haue bene vnto you a louing Prince, and ye vnto me god and obedient subiectes, and so I hope you will remaine all the dayes of my life. We ought to haue in remembrance, that either ye haue heard of your fathers, or else our aduines haue instructed you, that wee are not naturallles of this Countrey, nor yet our kingdome is durable, because our forefathers came from a farre Countrey, and their King and captaine who brought them hither, returned againe to his naturall Countrey, saying that hee woulde sende such as shoulde rule and gouerne vs, if by chaunce hee himselfe returned not. Beloeue ye assuredly, that the king which wee haue looked for so manie yeares, is hee that hath nowe sent these Spaniardes, which ye heere see. Who doth certifie, that we are their kinsmen, and that they haue had notice of vs a long time: let vs therefore giue thanks vnto the Goddes, that nowe they are comen in our dayes, being a thing that wee so much desired.

A sonde beliefe.

We shall nowe doe me sernice and pleasure, that ye yeelde your selues vnto this Captaine for vassalls of the Emperoure King of Spaine, our soueraigne, I my selfe haue already yeilded me for his seruitor and friend, praying you that from hence forwardes ye obey him as ye haue obeyed me. And that ye yeelde and pay vnto him the tributes, customes and sernice that ye were wont to pay vnto me, and in so doing, ye can doe me no greater pleasure. His heart then woulde not suffer him to speake anie moze; with the sobbes, sighes, and teares, that fell from his eyes. All his subiects there present fell into a crie, weeping and mourning, that for a good space they had no power to speake: they gaue sighes, and sighings,

Poore Metu.
zuma.

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sighings, uttering with their mouthes many dolefull, and sorrowfull speeches, yea that it pitted our owne men at the hearts. But in conclusion, they answered that they would obey his commaundement. Then Mutezuma and the Burgeses of Parliament in order yelded themselves for vassals of the king of Castile, promising loyaltie. This act was set downe by the Notarie, and with witnesses authozised. Then the Indians departed home to their houses with sorrowful hearts, God knoweth, as you may imagine. It was a straunge thing to see Mutezuma weep, with so many Noble men and Gentlemen, yea and with what grief they became subiects to an vnknowne Prince, but they could not otherwise doe, seeing that Mutezuma did commaund the same.

A true prophetic.

Also they had a certaine Prognostication and forewarning by their Priests of the coming from the East parties a straunge people, white of colour and bearded men, who should winne and rule that countrey. Likewise there was a secret talke among them, that in Mutezuma should ende and finishe, not alone the lineage of Culhua, but also the Empire and Kingdome: therefore some were of opinion, not to name him Mutezuma, which signifieth, agreed with misfortune. They say also that Mutezuma himselfe had many times answer of the Oracle of the Gods, that in him should finishe the Mexican Emperours, and that no childe of his should succede in his kingdome, and that hee should lose his seate in the eight yeare of his reign: and for these causes he would neuer procure war to withstand the Spaniards, believing that they should be his successors. Yet on the other side, he thought his opinion would take no place, for that he had reigned seuen score yeares: But this should seeme to come from the providence of God, which giueth kingdoms and taketh them away.

Cortes

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Cortes gaue vnto Mutezuma mosse hartie thanks on the behalfe of the Emperour, and for himselfe, and comforted him, who was very sad, promising also that alwaies he should be king and Lord, and commaunde as heretofore he had done, and better, yea and also he should be chiefe ruler of all the other landes and countreys, that he should gette and bying to the seruice of the Emperour.

The Golde and Jewels that Mutezuma gaue vnto Cortes for tribute.



After certaine dayes that Mutezuma and his counsell had yelded their obedience, Cortes saide vnto him, how that the Emperour was at great costes and charges in his warres, wherefore it should be necessary that his newe vassalls should begin to serue in some thing, and to pay their tribute, willing him to sende throughout his dominion to see what coulde be gathered of Gold, and that he himselfe should beginne firste to pay tribute to the example of others. Mutezuma answered that he was contented so to doe, willing that some of his men should goe vnto the house of soule for the same. There went many, and there saue golde in planches like byicke battes, Jewels, and peeces wrought in a hall and two chambers, which were opened vnto the. The Spaniards wondering at the sight, would not touch any thing, without giuing firste aduertisement to Cortes, who incontinent went thither, and caused it all to be carried to his lodging: besides this treasure Mutezuma gaue vnto him rich clothes of cotton and feathers, maruelously wrought in figures & colours, it seemed without comparison, for the Spaniards had neuer sene the like: he gaue vnto him more, twelue shooting tronkes wherewith he himselfe

Wh

was

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was wont to pastime: some of them were painted with birdes, beasts, flowers & trees very perfite, a worke surely much to be commended: and some of them were engrauen very curiously, with their mouldes and pellets of golde.

He sente also his seruants by two and two, and five and five, ech company with one Spaniarde, to the Lords of other prouinces, fourescore, and a hundred leagues frō Mexico, to gather in golde for the accustomed tributes, and newe seruice to the Emperour. Euery Lord, and Seignior, paide the quantitie appointed and tayed by Moteczuma, in golde, plate, iewels, stones and pearles.

The messengers returned, although they had taried somewhat long on their iourney, of whom Cortes receiued all that they brought, and caused it to be molten, out of the whiche was had in fine golde. 1600000. Castlins, of the value of seuen shillings and sixe pence the pēce, and rather more, and also five hundred markes of plate, after sixe Ducates the marke.

This treasure was deuided among the Souldiers, but not all: euery man was paide according to his office. The horsemen had twise as much as the fote men. And Cortes was paide out of the stocke the money promised him in Vera Cruz.

There came to the kings parte, 32000 Castlins and a hundred markes of plate, the which was wrought there in platters, saucers, cuppes, ewers and other pēces, according to the Indian fashion, to be set to the Emperour. Besides this, the present that Cortes laide aside, and take out of the stocke to send to the Emperour, was worth. 100000. Ducates, in pearles, precious stones, golde, and feathers, feathers and siluer, and many other iewels, as the gallant tronkes, whiche beside their value were straunge to behold, wrought with the brauery aforesaide. This present appointed, was not sent, for that and all the rest was
after.

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afterwarde lost at the troubles in *Mexico*, as hereafter shall more plainly appeare.

How *Mutezuma* required Cortes to depart
from *Mexico*.

Cortes seeing himselfe rich and mightie, he occupied himselfe in three things, the one was to sende vnto *Santo Domingo* and other *Ilands*, newes of his proceedings and prosperitie, and also money to prouide menne, horses and armour, for his owne company were too few for so greate a countrey. The other was, to take fully and wholly the estate of *Mutezuma*, hauing him prisoner, and also at his commaundement *Tlaxcallan*, *Coatelicamath*, and *Tuchintlec*, knowing also that the Indians of *Panuco*, *Tecoantepec*, and *Mechuacan*, were mortall enemies to the *Mexicans*, who would aide and assist him hauing neede of their helpe, his thirde pretence was, to procure all the Indians to be Chyristned, the which purpose he toke first in hand, as a thing most needfull. On the other side, *Mutezuma* repented himselfe, hauing newes that *Pamphilo de Naruaiz* was arriued, who came as enemy to Cortes, yea and after all this, he was at length dzyuen out of *Mexico*. These notable things shalbe rehearsed in their order. But now *Mutezuma* came, and desired Cortes to depart out of his countrey, aduising him that otherwise bothe he and his menne were in perill of killing, saying also, that three especiall causes moued him to this requeste: the one was, the dayly hate of his subiectes, who enuoyntuned him to come out of Captiuitie, and to murder the Spaniardes, saying, that it was a great shame for them to suffer the Prince to be in prison in the power of so fewe straungers, whom they might vse as a footebal: hauing dishonored the

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and robbed them of their gods, gathering and heaping
 up their golde for themselves, and for their king, who as
 seemed by their doings, was but a poore fellowe, and if he
 would not accept their offer and sute, that then of their
 owne authoritie they would take the thing in hande, for
 so much as hee refusing to be their king they would also
 refuse to be his bassals, giving warning and aduice that
 hee should looke for no better rewarde at the Spaniards
 hands, then Quallpopoca and Cacama his nephew had re-
 ceived, although they should flatter him neuer so much.

An other cause was, that the Diuell had appeared vnto
 him, and willed him to kill those Christians, or drive
 them out of the lande, threatening him that if he did not
 so, that then hee would goe from him and neuer talke a-
 ny more with him, for (quoth he) with their gospels, bap-
 tisme and deuotion, they doe much displease mee. Mute-
 zuma answered him, that there was no reason to kill them
 being his friends and honest men, but he would entreate
 them to depart, (vnto this) the Diuell answered that he
 should do so, and there in he would receiue great pleasure,
 for either he would goe his way and leaue him, or else
 that Christian fellowes should depart, for they salue here
 (quoth he) a Christian faith the which is much against our
 Religion, and cannot dwell both together. Another cause
 was, that Mutezuma was not well pleased with the im-
 prisonment of Cacama, whom once he loued exceeding well:
 so in fine, secretly hee repented him of all that was past
 in the Spaniards saueur, and chiefly by the perswasion
 of the Diuell, who saide that he coulde not doe vnto him
 a more acceptable seruice, and of greater pleasure to the
 Goddes, then to expell the Spaniards and abolishe the
 name of Christians, and in so doing, the seate of Kings
 should not finish in the lineage of Culhua, but rather be en-
 larged, and his childre should raign after him, wishing him
 not

not to beleue in prophesies, sithence the eight yeare was past, and was now in the eighteenth yere of his raigne. For these causes, or possible for other which wee knowe not of, Mutezuma prepared an armie of a hundred thousand men so secretly, that Cortez knew not thereof, to the effect, that if the Spaniards would not depart, being once moze required, that then he meant not to leaue one of them alieue. With this determination, hee came forth one day into the yard or Court, and had long conference and consultation with his Gentlemen about this matter. This done, he sent for Cortez, who liked not this newes, saying to himselfe, I pray God this message be of good purpose, and taking twelue of his men which were readiest at hand, went to knowe wherefore hee had sent for him. Mutezuma arose from the place where hee sat, and tooke Cortez by the hande, commaunding a stole to be brought for him, and so sat them downe both together, and beganne his talke as followeth. Sir, I beseech you to depart from this Citie and Countrey, for my Gods are sore offended with me, because I doe, and haue permitted you here so long: demaunde of mee what you please, and it shall be giuen you, because I loue you well: and thinke you not, that I giue you this warning in iest, but rather in god earnest, therefore it is conuenient, that you depart. It seemed strange vnto Cortez this talke. Also he saw by the countenance of Mutezuma, that some thing was a working, and before the interpreter of Mutezuma had made an end of his talke, Cortez willed one of his men to goe forthwith, and to aduise all his fellows, saying, that the waight of their liues was in question. Then our men called to remembrance what was told the in Tlaxcallon, considering that it was needfull of courage & helpe from God to bring them out of that danger. When Mutezuma had ended his tale, I haue (quod Cortez) understood

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A Subcill Fox. your meaning and doe thanke you for the same: also I would know when it is your pleasure that we should depart, and it shall be done. Euen when it please you (quoth Mutezuma) take the time that you thinke meete, and against that time will I prepare an hundred weight of gold for you, and fifty pound weight to each of your men.

Cortez sayde, you knowe, that when I came into this country, I commaunded all my ships to be sunke, so that now I haue neede of time conuenient to build vessels to carry vs into our country: wherefore my request is, that you require some of your Carpenters to be called, to cut downe timber for the purpose, for I haue men that can make the vessels. And this done, we wil depart, so that ye giue vs the golde which you haue promised, and certifie you the same to your Gods and vassals.

Mutezuma receiued great pleasure at this answer, and said, your request shall be fulfilled: and incontinent he sent for many Carpenters. Likewise Cortes prepared certaine of his marriners for Shiplwrights. All the which workmen went vnto great woods of Pinetrees, and there cut downe the timber necessarie for the purpose. Mutezuma being a simple man, gaue credite to all Cortes his talke: Cortes likewise aduertised his men of his proceedings, and said vnto them, Mutezuma would haue vs depart out of his Countrey, because his vassals and the Diuill hath entised him therevnto: wherefore it is needfull that we build shipping, and therefore I pray you go with these Indians, and procure to cut downe the best timber fit for our purpose, and in the meane season God will prouide for vs, whose affaires we haue now in hand, of remedie and succour in such sort that wee lose not this fruitfull country. It is also necessarie, that when you come vnto the wood, that you make all the delay possible, giuing a shew that you are busie occupied, and with great desire to make

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make an ende, that those Indians may suspect nothing of our pretence. Depart in Gods name, and aduice mee alwayes what both passe in your affaires.

The feare that our men stood in to be sacrificed.



Eight dayes after their departure toward the woods, arriued fiftene saile of Shippes at the coast of Chalchicoeca. The Indians of that coast aduised Mutezuma thereof, who was not a little afraid with the newes, & called Cortes vnto him, who feared as much som

bypzoze there, and when they shewed Cortes that Mutezuma was come forth into the yarde, he suspected that if Mutezuma pleased, they should be all destroyed. Wherefore he said vnto his men, masters & friends, Mutezuma hath sent me, considering what passed this other day, I hold it for no good token, I now goe to knowe his will: wherefore whatsoever happen, be you alwaies vigilant and ready, commending your selues to God. Remember also to whom ye are, and who are these infidels, abhorred of God, and friends vnto the diuell, without weapon, & experience in war: if we chance to fight, the hands of each of vs shall shew by deeds with sward, the valor and courage of our hearts: yea, and although we all die, yet shall we remaune with victorie, for that we haue fulfilled the thing we toke in hand, and the seruice which we owe vnto God, as faithfull Christians, with our dutie as true subiects to our prince. They all answered, saying, we will do all our possibilitie while life lasteth, without feare of perill or danger, for we lesse esteeme death then honour. With this aunswere Cortes went to Mutezuma, who saide vnto him, Senior Captaine, you shall vnderstande that

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that now you haue ships wherein you may depart, therefoze now at your pleasure make you ready.

Cortes answered, not knowing of the shipping, saying, Mightie sir, when my ships are finished I will depart, nay (quoth Mutezuma) I meane not those ships, for there are ariued eleuen other shippes at the coast neare vnto Zempoallan, and shortly I shall be certified, whether the people that are come in them, are come a thoe, and then shall we knowe what people, and how many are in number. Blessed is Iesu Christ (quoth Cortes) vnto whome I giue most heartie thanks for his great mercies shewed vnto me, and to the Gentlemen of my companie. One of Cortes his men went to shewe the glad tidings to their followes, who then receyued double strength, praying God, and embracing one another with great pleasure and ioy. And Cortes with Mutezuma beeing in communication together, came another post, who brought newes of fourescore horsemen that were landed, with eight hundreded footemen, and twelue peeces of Ordnance, & shewed painted in a cloth the whole relation, both of men, horses, ships, and Ordnance.

At the time
of neede pro-
uideth God.

Mutezuma hearing the newes that this post had brought, arose from his seate; and tooke Cortes in his armes, saying, now do I more loue you, then I haue done heretofore, and will this day dine with you. Cortes gaue him thanks for the one and the other, and in this sort went hande in hand to Cortes his Chamber, who willed his Spaniards not to make any extraordinarie ioy, or alteration, but that they should keepe all together with vigilant watch, and to giue heartie thanks vnto God for the comfortable newes. Mutezuma and Cortes dined together with great content and pleasure, the one thinking to abide and to enioy the kings state and Countrey, the other thinking that then they would auoide the land.

But

But notwithstanding all these imaginations, a certaine Indian Captaine importuned Mutezuma secretly to kill all Cortes his menne, being but few in number, and then should he be the readier to dispatch the others that were newly come, and not to permitte them to ioyne one with another: yea and againe, when the newe come menne should know of the death of their countrey men, they would not presume to abide in the lande.

With this counsell Mutezuma called many his friends and chiefe estates to counsell, propounding the case and iudgement of the Captaine, which being among them thoroughly heard, there were many of sundry opinions, but the conclusion was, to permitte the other Spaniards to come, saying, the more enemies, the more gaine, and if we kill but those which are here, then the others will returne to their shippes, and so shall we not make the solemne sacrifice of them to the Gods, according to our desire. Mutezuma was occupied in this counsell with five hundred noblemen and Gentlemen dayly, and according to determination, they commaunded to cherish and serue Cortes and his company more then ordinary, saying their ioy was at an ende.

How Iames Velasques sent Pamfilo de Naruais against Cortes.



IAMES Velasques being sore agræued, with desire of reuenge against Cortes, not onely for his expences at the time of preparation of Cortes his fleet, which was but small, but of mere hatred of the present honour and prosperitie of Cortes. Whereupon he inuēted great causes & quarrels against him, saying, and alleaging, that Cortes, hadde not giuen
 A i accompt

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account of his proceedings vnto him, being Gouvernour of Cuba, and Cortes his deputie, but rather without his consent and knowledge, had sent to Spaine to the King, aduice of his discovery, as who would say, that was treason, or an euill fact: but chiefly his fury was, knowing howe Cortez had sent an honorable present, with the kings part or portion of treasure vnto Spaine, yea and whole relation of the discovery, with Francisco de Monteio, and Alounso Fernandez Portocarrero, the whiche proceedings Iames Velasques meant to disturbe, for that he had laide in ambush a couple of caruels, to haue taken Cortes his present, and messengers, the which his pretence and purpose tolke no place, so that with the prosperous newes of Cortes, his furie and madnesse the moze encreased, imagining still his destruction.

And being occupied in these fonde imaginations, it happened that his Chaplin, one Benito Martine, brought letters from the Emperoure vnto him, with title and letters pattentes, of Generall and chiefe Gouvernour of all that then was discovered, inhabited, and conquered in the land and coast of Yucatan. With this newes, Velasques began to triumph, not only so much for the honour, as also to driue Cortes from Mexico. Whereupon, he incontinent prepared his flecte or flanie of eleuen Shippes, and seuen Wergantines, with nine hundred men, and foure score Voyles, and appointed one Pamfio de Naruaiz for Captaine Generall, and his Deputie, in the regiment of the Countrey: and for his moze quicker dispatch, he himselfe wente with him throughout that Ilande, till they came to Guaniguanico, which is the Westermost harbor of the Ilande, and being there, Naruaes readie to depart for Mexico, and Velasques to returne to Cuba, came the Licenciat Lucas Vasques de Aillon, a chief Iudge of Santo Domingo, in name of the whole Chancery, to require Velasques

lasques vpon great penalties, that he should not permit or suffer Pamfilo de Naruaes to proceede on that voyage against Cortes, which would be cause of murder, ciuill warres, and other mischiefes among the Spaniards, yea and that Mexico should be in daunger of losing, with all the rest that was conquered, and in quiet to the Kings vse, saying vnto him mozeouer, that if there were any discord betwene them for gods, or parents of honour, that then it did appertaine to the Emperour to iudge, and to determine the cause, and not that hee himselfe should be iudge in his owne cause, vsing force against the other partie, praying them for the seruice of God & the King, that if they would goe to conquire, that then they should seeke other Countreyes, hauing so good an army and fléete, and Countreyes inough to seeke. This diligence, request and authoritie of the Licenciate Aillon, to Velasques and Naruaez preuailed not: he seeing their obstinacie and litle regard to him being a chiefe Iudge, determined to go with Naruaez in his shippe, to let and disturbe the great hurt that might followe, thinking there in the new Spaine to perswade Naruaes, better then in the presence of Velasques, yea and also if need should be, to be a meane of quietnesse betwixt them.

A noble
Iudge.

Pamfilo de Naruaes, tooke shipping in Guaniguanico, and sailed till he came neer vnto Vera Crux, with al his fléete, and hauing intelligence that there were a hundred and fiftie Spaniards of Cortes his band, he sent vnto them a Priest, with one Iohn Ruiz de Gueuara, & Alonso de Vergara, to require them to receiue him for their Captaine and Gouvernor. But the new Citizens would giue no eare to their talk, but rather apprehended them, and sent them prisoners to Mexico to Cortes, to aduertise him of their embassage, wherupon Naruaes unshipped his men, horses, armoz, artillery, & went with them directly to Zempoallā.

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The Indian Comarcans being as well friends to Cortes, as vassals to Mutezuma, gaue vnto him golde, mantels, and victualles, thinking that they had bene Cortes his men.

The substance of a Letter that Cortez wrote vnto Mutezuma.

Before Cortes knew the effect of the comming of this new state, his head was sore troubled, for, on the one side he was glad of the comming of his owne nation, on the other side, he liked not so great an army. Likewise he imagined, that if they came to succour him, hee helde the Countrey for conquered: also if that they were come against him, hee iudged the Countrey to bee lost. He iudged also, that if they were come from Spaine, that then they had brought to him the thing looked for, but if they were come from Cuba, he feared ciuill warres. He also thought, that from Spaine could not come so many folke in so short space. Finally, he deemed, that his olde enemy Iames Velasques was come personally, but when he knew the whole truth, then was hee much more pen-
sive, thinking that the thread of his prosperitie was cut asunder, yea, and that they would bee a meane to stoppe the gappes of the whole discovery, both of the secrets of the land, mines, and treasure, as also, in the knowledge of the friends or enemies of Mutezuma. It should be also a let to inhabite the places which he had begunne, yea and also to Chrysten the Indians, which was the principall thing that he pretended, yea & a let or stop of many other things begun in the seruice of God and the prince, fearing also by flying from one inconuenience, to fall into many, and also if he should permit Pamphilo de Naruaes to come vnto Mexico, it should bee a meane of his perdition:

if liketwile he should encounter him, he feared some rebellion in the Citie, and the setting at libertie of Mutezuma, putting in perill his owne honour, life, and trauaile: and to auoyde all these daungers and inconueniences, he determined remedie. First, he dispatched two men, the one vnto Iohn Velasques de Leon, who was gone to inhabite at Coazacoalco, willing him at the sight of his letter to repaire vnto Mexico, giuing him aduise of the comming of Naruaez, and of the great neede that he stood in, of him and his company. The other messenger he sent to Vera Crux, to bring full relation of the arriual of Naruaes, and what was his pretence.

The letter sent to Iohn Velasques, came no sooner to his hande, but forthwith he obeyed and fulfilled the same, contrary to the expectation of Naruaes, for hee was his brother in law, and kinsman vnto Iames Velasques. Cortes seeing his constancy, had him euer after that time in great estimation.

From the Vera Crux came twentie of the towne men with certificat what Naruaes had published, and brought with them a priest, with Alonso Guevara, and Iohn Ruiz de Vergara, who had comen to Vera Crux to amotue the towne, vnder colour that they had brought the commission from the king. Cortes on the other side, sent vnto Naruaes signior Bartholome de Olmedo, with other two Spaniards, to offer vnto him his friendship, & other wise to require & commaund him on the behalf of the king and of his owne, as chiefe iustice of the land, and in the name of his rulers and Aldermen of the towne of Vera Crux, who were then in Mexico, and if he should enter peaceably, without making any alteration vntil his authoritie and commission were seene and allowed, and to make no slander or reproche to his hindzance of the king his maisters proceedings.

But all this diligence & letters of Cortes and the other

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rules prevailed not, he seeing this, set at liberty the priest that was brought prisoner, and sent him unto Naruaez, with certaine rich collers of golde, and other iewels with a letter, wherein he wrote, that he was moze gladder of his coming in that state then any other, for the friendship and olde acquaintance that had bene betwixt them, desiring him that they mought talke and confer together, alone, for to take order to prohibite wars, sedition, bloud, shead and disquietnesse among them, being of one nation and brethren, requesting him to shew his commissiō from the king vnto him, or vnto the counsell of Vera Crux, and he would willingly obey it as reason did require: and if he had not brought any such commission, yet he would make some honest agréement with him. Pamfilo de Naruaes seeing himselfe strong and mightie, did little regard Cortes his letters, offers, nor requests, and chiefly because James Velasques was soze displeased with Cortes.

The talke of Naruaez to the Indians,
and his answere to Cortes.

PAmphilo de Naruaez, declared to the Indians that they were deceiued with their opinion in Cortes, for that he alone was Captain Generall and chief Lord, and that Cortes was but a naughty man, and so were all they of his company which are now in Mexico, who were all but his boyes, and that his present coming was to cut off Cortes his head, and to chasten the others, lykewise he meant to drive them all out of the countrey, and then to depart himselfe, and to leaue them in full libertie.

A foule brag.

The Indians gaue credite to his talke, seeing so many bearded men and horses, and thereupon began to attende and serue him, leauing their olde friends in Vera Crux.

Also

Also Naruaes began to flatter Mutezuma, and sent him word that Cortes abode in that country against the will of his prince, and that he was a couctous rebell, who robbed his countrey, and that he pretended to kill Mutezuma and to make himselfe king. Also that his coming was to set him at libertie, and to restore vnto him all that those wicked fellowes had taken from him. And because that others should take example of their factes, he would command them all to be slaine, willing him to take no care, for in short space they would see each other. And that when he had set him at libertie with restitution of his goods, he would incontinent depart his countrey. These treaties were so foule and abominable, with the iniurious wordes which Pamfilo de Naruaes spake openly against Cortes and his men, yea they seemed odious vnto all his own host and army, & some of his owne men checked him for the same, especially Bernardine de Santa Clara, who seeing the countrey so peaceable, and so wel pleased with Cortes, he could not let but repprehend Naruaes in his wordes. Also the licenciat Aillon required him diuerse times to cease from his slanderous talke, vpon paine of death, & losse of his goods, and also not to proceed toward Mexico, for the great hurt that might ensue, with slander among the Indians, disquietnesse among the Spaniards, and offence to the Emperors his Maiestie. Pamfilo de Naruaes being moued with his talke laide hand vpon Aillon, being a chiefe iudge for the king, and apprehended also his secretary, and an other officer, and forthwith shipped them, & sent them to James Velasques gouernour of Cuba. But when Aillon saw him selfe at sea, and free from Naruaes, he began to threaten the Mariners, commanding them not to presume to carrie him to Cuba to Velasques his power, but only to São Domingo, wher he was one of the kings counsell in chancery: the mariners fearing the kings iustice, obeyed his commandment, and

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A cruell proclamation.

A mad reckoning.

A good Captaine and wife.

and when he was apozted at Santo Domingo, he wholly enformed the Councell there, of Naruaes and his wicked dealing, whose testimonie and information did much blemish the credit of Velasques, & exalt the trauels of Cortes. After that Naruaes had shipped away Aillon, he proclaimed warre, with fire and sword against Cortes, and promised certaine markes of Golde to him that should apprehend or kill him, or Pedro de Alvarado, and Gonfalo de Sandoual, with other principall persons of his companie. Also he made diuision of his goods among his men before they came to possesse it. Surely these three points were of a man without wisdom or discretion.

Many of Naruaes his compante did amotue themselves, through the commaundement of the Licenciat Aillon, and through the same and liberalitie of Cortes. Whereupon incontinent one Pedro de Villalobos a Portuguese, and sixe or seuen more fled vnto Cortes, yea and others wrote vnto him, offering themselves to his seruice, if by chaunce they should encounter.

Cortes receiued the letters, but kept in silence from his companie the firmes of those which had written to him. Some do thinke that Cortes had suborned them with letters, faire promises, yea, and a horse load of chaines and planches of golde, which he sent secretly to Naruaes his campe with a seruant of his, publishing likewise, that he had an army of two hundred Spaniards in Zempoallan, where he had none at all: these policies might well be, for he was prudent, carefull and quick in his businesse, and Pamfilo de Naruaes was slouthfull and careless.

Naruaes made answer to Cortes his letter by seignior Bartholome de Olmedo, the substance of his message was, that forthwith hee should repaire to the place where he was abiding, and there he should see the Emperors commission and order, wherein was authoritie given to him to take

the west India.

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take and keepe that countrey for James Velasques, yea and that already he had made a towne of men onely, with all officers there vnto appertaining.

After this letter and message sente, he dispatched likewise one Barnaldino de Quesada and Alonso de Mata, to require Cortes to depart and leaue the countrey vpon pain of death, and to notifie vnto him these actes : by order of law. Cortes laide hande vpon Alonso de Mata, because he named himselfe the kings potary, and shewed no title or authoritie for the same.

The talke that Cortez had with his owne souldiers.



Cortes perceiuing the small fruite that his letters (presentes) and messengers, obtained at the handes of Naruaes, and that in no case, he woulde shewe his commission whiche came from the king, he determined to goe vnto him, and according to the olde proverbe, face to face both get respect, and likewise if it were possible, to agree vpon some good order and quietnesse: wher vpon he sent Rodrigo Aluares his surueto, with Iohn Velasques, and Iohn del Rio, to treat with Naruaes of many matters, wherof three things were the principallest. The first was, that they two might meete alone, or els so many, for so many, and that Naruaes shuld permit Cortes to abide in Mexico, and he withall his company shoulde conquere Panuco or other kingdoms, also y Cortes would pay the charges, and haue consideration to gratifie his souldiers, or els that Naruaes shuld abide in Mexico, and deliuer vnto Cortez, 400. of his men, to the intent y with them, and his owne men he might proceede to seeke other countreies to conquere. Laste of all, he required to see the

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kings commission, for that he would obey the same. Naruaes liked none of these offers, only he accepted that they should meet together with each of them ten Gentlemen for securitie, bound with solempne othe, and firm'd this agreement with their names. But it toke no effect, for Rodrigo Aluarez aduised Cortes that Naruaes had made a snare to apprehend him, or to kill him at their meeting. Cortes vnderstande the matter, or else he had some other intelligence by some that loued him wel. And this former agreement taking no place, Cortes determined to goe vnto him.

But befoze his departing, he declared vnto his company, saying, I trust ye haue in remembrance what & how much I haue done for you, since the beginning of this enterprize, yea & also how louingly and friendly ye haue dealt for me: Ye shall now vnderstand that Iames Velasques, in stead of thanks giuing vs, hath sent to murder vs, Pamphilo de Naruaes, who is a Stubborn and an unreasonable man, one ready to execute our good desertes done in the seruice of God and our Prince, with an euil reward. And the cause is only, for doing our dutie in the sending of the kings parte and portio to his Royall person & not vnto him. Also this Naruaes hath already confiscated our goods, and giuen them to other men, and our bodies condemned to the Gallies, yea and our fame and honour plaide at tables, with great iniurious and slanderous wordes proclaimed against vs, which things truly are not of a Christian, no nor yet we with Gods helpe will let the matter so to slippe: yea and though we ought to leaue the reuengment vnto God, yet we will not suffer them to enioy our trauals and paines, who are now comen white fingered to spoile the blood of their neighbours, yea and like made men to strike against their owne nation, sowing slander among those Indians which serued vs as our friends, yea & procuring more cruel warres, then the ciuill war betweene Mario & Silla, or of Cesar

the west India.

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Cesar and Pompeio, who turned topsidowne the Romaine Empire. Wherefore I do determine to meet him by ſtay, and not to ſuffer him to come vnto Mexico, ſoꝛ it is better to ſay, God ſaue you, then they to come & ſay who is there: yea & though they are many, a good heart doth bzeake euil ſortune, as it hath appered by vs, who haue paſſed through the pikes ſince our comming hither: mozeouer, I doubt not but that many of Naruaez his company will come vnto vs. Therefore my deare friends do I giue you aduiſe of my preſence, to the entent that thoſe which will goe with me, may prepare themſelues, and thoſe that will not, let them remaine to keep Mexico and Mutezuma, which is as much in effect. At the end of his talke he promiſed great rewards if that with victoꝛy hee returned. His men answered all with one voyce, that they were all at his commandement, and readie to fulfill his will, yet ſome feared the pride and blindneſſe of Pamilo de Naruaes: on the other ſide the Indians began to be luſtic, to ſee diſſention among the Spaniards, and that the Indians of the coaſte were ioyned in league with the new come men.

The requests of Cortez to Mutezuma.

After all this talke and anſwere of his ſouldiers, hee went to viſit and to commune with Mutezuma ſoꝛ to depart on his iourney, with ſome what the leſſer care, and alſo to proue the mind and will of Mutezuma, vnto whom he uttered his mind as followeth. Sir, you know the loue that I haue, and deſire to ſerue you, and chiefly the truſt againe, that you will haue to my companions when I am gone from this Citie. Wherefore I pray you, that it may pleaſe you to remaine here in this lodging, and to haue regarde vnto theſe ſtraungers, which I leaue with you: alſo I commend vnto you, the golde and Jewelles whiche is in their cuſtodie, and giuen vnto vs of your owne liberalitie. For I do now goe to ſignifie vnto theſe

Oh wife
Cortes.

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which of late are comen in the new flæte, how your highnesse doth commaunde that I departe from this land, and that they doe not agrauate or moleſt your ſubiectes, nor yet preſume to enter into your countrey, but that they remaine on your coaſt, untill we bee readie to departe with them, accoꝝding to your will and pleaſure. And if in the meane ſeaſon, any of your ſubiectes be ſo bnaꝝdiſed, as to moleſt my men, which now remaine in your potver and Garde, that then it may pleaſe you to be their ſhilde, ſuccour, and onely defence. Mutezuma promiſed to fulfil his requeſt, wiſhing him moꝝeouer, that if any in his iourney ſhoulde offende him, then immediately to aduife him, and that he would ſend his men of war to chaſſen them, yea and alſo (if it pleaſed him,) he woulde giue vnto him guides to ſafe conꝝduct him through his owne dominion to the Sea coaſt, who ſhould pꝝouide him of all neceſſaries by the way. Cortes kiſſed his handes for his curteſie, with moſte hartie thanks for the ſame, and gaue vnto him certaine Spanniſhe apparell, and other glaſen Jewels, and alſo other like treaſure to his poble men, which ſtoode by at all the talke. But in effect he tolde him not what he pretended to doe, nor yet the newes of Pamfilo de Naruaes his pꝝoceedings was not come to his eare, oꝝeſſe, it may be that Mutezuma diſſimuled the matter with inwarde pleaſure, that one Chꝝiſtian ſhould kill the other, thinking thereby to haue moſt ſure his libertie, and the Goddes pleaſed.

The impriſonment of Pamfilo de

Naruaez.

Cortes was ſo well beloued among his companie, that they offered willingly to goe with him, by reaſon whereof he choſe .250. men fitte for his iourney, and other .200. in guard of Mutezuma and the Citie, with

with Pedro de Aluaredo, for their Captaine. He left also with them the artillarie, and foure ffoylis ready made, to haue the lake in subiection, beseeching them onely to haue speciall regarde, that Mutezumafied not from them to Naruaes, and not to permit him to goe out of their forte or strong house.

With those few Spaniards Cortes toke his iourney with no more but eight or nine Horsemen, and certaine Indians for his seruice, and cariage.

Passing through Chololla and Tlaxcallon, he was honourably receiued and lodged, and about fiftene leagues from Zempoallan, where Naruaes was abiding, he mette with two Priests, and his olde especiall friend Andries de Duero, who had lent him money for the setting forth of that voyage. These three persons came to require him to obey the Generall lately come as Lieutenant to the Governour Velasques, and to deliuer vnto him the countrey, with all the fortes or Castles therein, aduising him, that if he would not accomplish the same, that then he woulde proceede against him, euen as an enemie and Rebelle, to the execution of death. Likewise, if he would fulfill the request made vnto him, that then he should haue libertie, and conuenient shipping to depart, both for him, and as many as would goe with him. Cortes answered, that hee would rather suffer death, then to leaue the Countrey, which hee had conquered and pacified with his handes and industrie, without any commaundement from the Emperour; and (quoth he) if agaynst all equitie and fauour, he will contend with me in warre, I will defend me as well as I may, and if I haue the victorie (as I trust in God, and the right that I haue on my side,) I will stand in neede of shipping, and if I be slaine, &c. Therefore I doe require him to shewe by his commission and authoritie had from the Emperour, for vntill

A stout man.

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I doe both see and read the same, I will accept no agreement: and if (quoth he) that he refuse the same, that then I dare warne, admonish, and require him to returne to Cuba, the place from whence he came, and if he wil not obey my precept, I will then apprehend him, and sende him prisoner in pyons to the Emperour: and with this answer dispatched the thre messengers, sending also a Potarie of his owne, to commaund him to take his shipping, and to depart without making any alteration in the country, or the ensuing of further murders and strife and if not, that upon Whittsunday, which was within thre dayes following, he meant to bee with him at supper. Pamfilo de Naruaes made a mockerie and least at his commaundment, and toke Prisoner the Potarie which came from Cortes, with that order, holding Cortes for madde, who made so many bragges with so small a companie. And before Iohn Velasques de Leon, and Iohn de Rio, Cortes his friends, he mustred his men, who were in number fourescore bargabulhers, a hundred and twentie Crossebowes, fife hundred men with other weapon, and fourescore Hozsemen, saying, how will Cortes defend himselfe against vs, nay at length he will know his dutie: he promised money to him that should either kill, or take Cortes prisoner. And the same offer made Cortes against Pamfilo, who made a rounde of his sotemen, and skirmished with his Hozsemen, shooting off his artillarie, to put in feare the poore Indians.

Anvncertaine
reckoning.

Naruaes signified againe unto Mutezuma with the messengers, who caried all the triumph and muster painced, all his former dealings, but hearing that Cortes was nere at hand, he sent out his light Hozsemen to discry his Campe.

All Naruaes his Hozses were readie saddled and bydelled, and his men armed. Cortes entred so close and secret that

that no man almost heard him, and the first worde he spake, hauing all his men within with him, was, shut the gates, and strike, sotoone with him. There were at that time many shining wormes, which with their glittering seemed matches of Hargabush, so that if one peere at that time had bene discharged, they would haue bene in a great feare.

Naruaes being about to put on his priue coate, came one vnto him, saying: Sir, Cortes is nere your lodging, let him come in (quoth he) for he cometh to talke with me. Naruaes had his men in foure Towers of his lodging, and he himselfe was in the one, with a hundred Spaniards, and at his doore thirtene peeces of Ordnance ready charged. Cortez commanded his chiefe Shirisse, Goncallo de Sandoual, with fortie or fiftie of his fellows, to go vp into Naruaes his chamber, and he himselfe with other twentie men abode at the doore to defende and keepe that none might enter thereat, vnfil he had finished his businesse. The residue of his men besieged the other Towers, so that they might not succour one another.

Naruaes hearing the noyse, would needes fight, although he was required to stay his handes, and coming out at his Chamber doore, they strake out one of his eyes with a pike, and then they laide hande vpon him, dragging and drawing him downe the staires by the heeles, and when he saue himselfe brought before Cortes, he sayde, oh Senior Cortes, thanke your great fortune in hauing my person prisoner: who answered him againe, oh Naruaes, the hauing of thy body prisoner, is the least thing that I haue done, sithence I came into this land. Cortes commaunded forthwith to lay him in prons, and to carrie him to the rich towne of Vera Cruz, where he abode prisoner certaine yeares.

This combat endured but a while, for within one hour

Pamila

A darke night
for Naruaes.

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Panfilo de Naruaes, and the chiefeft of his companie were taken prifoners, and their weapons & armor taken from all the reft. There were flaine of Naruaes his men fixtē, and of Cortes his five were killed only two perfons with a peece of Ordnance. They had no leifure to give fire to their Ordnance, with the great diligence and haile of Cortez, faving vnto one peece that killed the two men. The tough holes were ftopped with ware, throught the great raine that had fallen. By this meane thofe that were overcome, did take occafion to imagine that Cortes had fuborned the mafter gunner, and others.

Cortes vfed great fobrietie and difcretion, for he would not permitte any of the prifoners to bee reuiled or mifufed with any iaturious wordes, no nor yet Naruaes, who had fpoken fo much euill of him, although many of his men defired reuengement. Pedro de Maluenda feruant to Iames Velafques, who was chiefe Steuarte to Naruaes, fledde to the Shippes with all the fluffe that he coulde get, without any let of Cortez. Here may you fee what difference and aduantage is betwixt man and man, what did each of thefe Captiues fay, thinke, and doe, fe loome time doth happen, that fo fewe of one nation doth overcome fo many of the fame nation, efpecially the greater number being frefh, luftie, and in a ftrong holde.

The Rebellion of Mexico againft
Cortez.



After that Cortes had obtained victorie againft Naruaes, he knew very wel the moft part of his company, vnto whom he fpake curteoufly, praying them to forget the things paff, and fo would he alfo. And alfo likewife, that it might please

please them to goe with him to Mexico, which was the richest Citie of all that India. He also restored to euery man his armour and weapons, which were taken from them in their ouerthrow. He also left very fewe of them prisoners with Naruaes. The Horsemen tooke the field with stomacke to fight, but after they had heard of his offer, they submitted themselues. In conclusion, all those that were come, hoping of spoyle, were glad to accept his offer, and to goe with him with faithfull promise truly to serue him.

He receiued his power in Vera Crux, and brought thither the nauie of Naruaes. He also dispatched two hundred Spaniards to the riuer of Garay, and sent also Iohn Velasques de Leon with other two hundred men, to inhabite of Coazacoalco. He dispatched also a Spaniard by poste to Mexico, with newes of the victorie, and he himselfe followed towarde Mexico, with the great care that he had of those whome hee had left there in garde of Mutezuma and the Citie.

The Poste that went on this journey, in Steele of Thanks, was sore wounded by the Indian Rebelles, but although he was so hurte, yet he returned to Cortes, with newes that Mexico was reuolted, and that they had burned the foure Hostes, also assieged the Spanishe house, and throwne downe a wall, and myned another, yea and set fire vppon the munition, taken away their vittailles, and had broughte them to suche extremitie, to be either slaine, or remaine prisoners, sauing that Mutezuma commaunded to ceasse the combatte, yea and for all that they woulde not leaue their armoure, nor depart from the siege, only they somewhat amayned their furie for their princes sake.

These newes were sorrowfull to Cortes, for thereby his pleasure was turned into care, the rather to make

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hast to succoure his friends and fellows, for if he hadde delayed his coming but a small while, he had founde them eyther slaine, or else their bodies ready to sacrifice: but his greatest comforte was, that Mutezuma remained still prisoner. He mustered his men in Tlaxcallan, and founde of his Spanishe nation a thousand footemen, and nere a hundred Horsemen. He proceeded forwards towarde Tezcuco, where he founde none of the Gentlemen of his acquaintance, nor yet he there was received, as in time past he had bin, but rather he found a greate alteration, in the Countrey, and also many towncs without people, or else rebelled. Tezcuco met with him a Spaniarde, whome Alvarada had sente to desire him to come vnto them, and to certifie him of all the premises, saying moreover, that with his coming their surges would be pacified.

With this messenger came another from Mutezuma, who declared vnto Cortes, that his Lord was innocent of all that was done, praying him, that if he had conceived any euill opinion against him, to putte away the same againe, and that it might please him to goe directly to his own house, where he abode his coming, with the Spanishe garde that he hadde left with him, who were aliue and in good health as he hadde left them.

With this message, Cortes and his companye reposed all that night, and the next day, being Midsummer daye, he entred into Mexico at dinner time, with his hundred Horsemen, and the thousand footemen, with a greate companye of their friends of Tlaxcallan, Huexacincos, and Chololla, but he saw but few folke in the streets, and smal entertainment, with many bridges broken, and other euill tokens.

He came to his lodging, and all those of his companye

nie whiche coulde not well be lodged there, he sent them to the great Temple. Mutezuma came forth into the yard to receiue him, full heauie and sorrowfull, as it seemed, of that offence which his subiectes had done, excusing himselfe: and then euerye one entred into his lodging and Chamber: but the ioy and pleasure of Pero de Aluaredo was incomparable, saluting the one the other, with demaundes and questions howe they fared, yea and how much the one company declared of prosperitie and pleasure, the other againe replied as much of sorrow and trouble.

The causes of the Rebellion.



Ortes procured to knowe the principal cause of the insurrection of the Mexican Indians, and hauing a generall day of hearing, the charge being laide against them, some said, that it was through the letters & persuasion of Naruaes: Others answered, their desire and meaning was, to expell the strangers, according to agremente made, for in theyr skirmishes they cryed nothing but gette you hence, get you hence: Other sayde, that they pretended the libertie of Mutezuma, for in their Combates they woulde saye, lette goe oure God and King, if you list not to be slaine. Others saide, that they were Thæues, and hadde robbed theyr golde and plate from them, which was in valewe more then seauen hundred thousande ruckettes: Others cryed, here shall you leaue the golde that you haue taken from vs. Others saide, that they coulde not abyde the sighte of the Tlaxcaltecas, and other theyr mortall enemies. Manye belæued that the mutinye was for thzowing downe theyr Goddes and Idolles:

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each of these causes were sufficient to rebell, howe much moze altogether.

But the chiefeſt and moſt principall cauſe was, that after the departure of Cortes towarde Naruaes, happened a ſolemne holiday, which the Mexicans were wont to celebrate, and deſiring to obſerue the ſame, as they were wont to do, they came and beſought Captaine Alvarado to graunt them licence, and not to imagine that they were ioyned together to kill the Spaniardes. Alvarado gaue them licence, with ſuch conditions, that in their ſacrifice ſhould no mans bloud bee ſpilte, no; yet to weare any weapon.

At this feaſt, ſixe hundred Gentlemen and principall perſons ioyned together in the great Temple: ſome ſay, that they were moze then a thouſande perſons of greate eſtate, but that nighte they made a maruellous great noyſe, with cornets, ſhells, clouen bones, where with they made a ſtraunge muſicke: they celebrated the feaſt, their naked bodies couered with teile, made and wrought with precious ſtones, collers, girdles, bracelettes, and many other Jewels of golde, ſiluer, and alioſar, with gallant tuſſes of feathers on their heades. They daunced a daunce called Mazualiztli, which is to ſay, deſerte with paine, and ſo they call Mazuali a husbandman. This daunce is like Netoriliztli, which is another daunce. The manner is, that they laie mattes in the Temple yarde, and with the ſounde of their Drummes, called Arabals, they daunce a round, hande in hande, ſome ſinging, and others anſwere, which ſonges were in the honoz and praiſe of the God or Sainte, whose feaſte it is, hoping for this ſeruite to haue raine, corne, healthe, victorie, peace, children, or anye other thing that they may wiſh for, or deſire.

These

These Indian Gentlemen being occupied in their dauncing and ceremonies, it fortuned that Pedro de Aluvarado went to the Temple of Vitzilopucheli to behold their doings, and whether his going was of his owne accorde, or by the consent of his companie I am not certaine, although some saye that he was aduised how the mutinie was ther conspired, as after did follow: others holde opinion, that their onely going to the Temple was to beholde the maruailous and straunge daunce. And then seeing them so richly attired, they coueted their Gold and Jewels which they ware, and besieged the Temple with tenne Spaniards at each doore, and the Captaine entred in with fiftie men, and without any Christian respect he slew and murdered them all, and toke from them all their treasure. Although this fact seemed odious vnto Cortes, yet he dissimuled the matter, for feare least he shoulde hurt his owne proceedings, as time did the require, not knowing what neede he might haue of them, but especially to auoide contention among his company.

The thretnings of the Mexicans against the Spaniards.



The cause of this rebellion, being well knowen, Cortes demaunded how their enimies fought, mary (quoth they) after they had taken weapon against vs for the space of ten dayes arw, they neuer ceased with great fury to assault and combat our house, and we with feare least Mutezuma shoulde escape and flee vnto Naruais, durst not goe out of doores to fight in the stræte, but onely to defende the house with especiall care of Mutezuma, according to your charge giue vnto be, Also we being but few, and the Indians many,

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who still refreshed their men, they did not only weary vs, but also put vs in great feare and cleane out of courage, yea, and if at the greatest bzunt Mutezuma personally had not ascended to the toppe of the wall, commaunding them if euer they meant to see him aliuie, to stay and cease from their enterprise.

At the sight of Mutezuma they were all amazed, and incontinent ceased the combat and assault. They said also that with the newes of the victorie had agaynst Pamfilo de Naruaes, Mutezuma required his men to leaue off from their pretence: notwithstanding the Indians calling to remembrance, that Cortes was comming with a greater company, at whose returne they should haue the more to doe, began a fresh to assault the house, whereupon some doe thinke, that it was agaynst the will of Mutezuma. But it followed, that one day the Spaniards standing in great perill, charged their greatest peece of ordnance, & giuing fire, the peece discharged not: the Indians seeing the same, beganne a fresh with a maruellous terrible noise, vsing stauies, bowes, launces, and stons, that came as thicke as haile, saying, now we will we redeme our king, sette our houses at libertie, and reuenge our iniuries. But in the middelt of their furie the peece went off, without any more pzinging or touch, with a great and fearefull thundering, the peece being great and full of hayle shotte, with the maine pellothe, made a straunge spoyle among them, and with feare they retired. But yet they began to say, well, well, shortly shall your flesh be boyled, although we meane not to eat it, for truly it is very carraine, and good for nothing. But yet we will bestow the same vpon the Eagles, Lions, Tigers, and Snakes, who shal be the graues for your filthie carcases.

But forthwith if ye let not Mutezuma depart, and rehoze him to his libertie, ye shall quickly haue your reward

ward for your presumption and pride, who durst be so bold as to lay hand on Mutezuma being our God and Lord, that giueth vs our daily foode. And yet pee with your filthy thēues handes presumed to touch him, oh why dooth not the earth open & swallow you, which taketh other mens goods? But marke the ende, for our Gods whose religion you did prophane, will rewarde you according to your desert: and if they do not shortly execute their wrath, then let vs alone, for we will out of hand make an ende of you. And as for those thēues and villaines of Tlaxcallan your slaues, shall not depart praysing their gaines, who nowe presume to take their maisters wiues, yea & to demaund tribute of them, vnto whome they themselves are tributors. These and such like wer the words of the Mexicans. But our men, although they were in a maruellous feare, yet they reprehended their folly as touching Mutezuma, saying that Mutezuma was no God, but a mortall man as they were, and no better, and that their Gods were vaine idols, and their religion most false and abhominable, and that onely our God was holy, iust, true, and infinite.

The great extremitie and danger that our men were put in by the Mexicans.



A hearing the former talk in defence of the house, and prouiding of things necessarie, the night passed away. And in the morning to pꝛoue the Mexicans intent, Cortes commanded the marked to be vsed as in time past. Aluaro wished Cortes to shew himself toward him as agreed & not well pleased, making as thogh he wold appꝛehed & correct him for the things passed, thinking that Mutezuma & his men would

would haue entreated for him. Cortes passed not for that talke, saying that they were infidels, diuellish and wicked people, with whome suche complementes should not be vsed.

But he commaunded a certaine principal Gentleman of Mexico, who stood there present, that out of hand he should commaund the market to be furnished as in times past. This Indian vnderstanding y Cortes had spoken euil of them, made as though he went to fulfil his commaundement: but hee went to proclaime libertie, publishing the heinous & iniurious words which he had heard, so that in short space the matter began to waie hotte, for some went and brake downe the bridges, others went to call all the Citizens, who toynded themselues together, and besieged the Spaniards house, with such strange noyse that one could not heare another: the stones flew like haile, darts and arrowes filled the Spaniards yarde, which troubled them much. Cortes seeing this boyle, he with certaine of his men went out at one doore, and an other Captain at another, with eache of them two hundred men. They fought with the Indians, who flew foure Spaniards, and wounded many moe, and of them were slaine very fewe, with their succoure and defence at hande. If our men fought with them in the streetes, then would they stoppe their passage at the bridges: if they assaulted their houses, then they were beaten with stones from the toppe of their houses which were flat ruffed, and at their retire they persecuted them terribly.

They set fire vpon the Spaniards house in sundrie places, but chiefly in one place they coulde not aplane the fire a great while, untill they threw downe certaine chambers and walles, whereas they had entered at pleasure, had it not bene for the Artillerie, Crossebowes, and handgunnes, which were there in defence of that place.

This

This combat endured all that day untill night, yea and in the night also they had their hands full: our men had little leisure to sleepe, but rather spent the night in mending the walles & doores, and curing the wounded men who were moze then foure scoze, and likewise to set their men in order and readinesse for the fight of the next day following.

It was no sower day, but the Indians began their assault a fresh, with moze courage and furie then the day before, so that our men were faine to trust to their artillery, the which the Indians feared not a whit: for if a shot carried ten, fiftene or twentie Indians at a clappe, they would close againe as though one man had not bene missing. Cortes came out with other two hundred men, and gave some bridges, burned some houses, and slew many that defended them. But the Indians were so many in number, that no hurt appeared, yea and our men were so fewe in comparison of them, that although they fought all the day, yet had they much adoe to defend themselves, how much moze to offend. That day neuer a Spaniard was slaine outright, but three scoze of them were wounded and hurt, whereby they had inough to do to cure them for that night, and to procure remedie and defence against the hurts which they received from the house toppes. They invented Engines of timber made upon wheeles, and foure square, covered on the toppe, and with an Art to passe through the streets: there were placed on each of them, twentie men with Pikes, Hargabush, Crossebowes, and one double Base. Behinde the Engines went men with shouels and Patstocks, to throw downe houses, bullwarkes, and to rule and gouerne the Engines.

A strange
invention.

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The death of Mutezuma.

All the while that the Engins were a making, our men came not out to fighte, being occupied in the worke, but onely to defend their lodging. The enemies thinking that they were all soze hurte and wounded, began their warres againe, reuiling them with many iniurious wordes, threating them, that if they would not deliuer Mutezuma, that they would giue them the most cruellest death that euer man suffered, and came with great force to haue entred the house.

Cortes desired Mutezuma to goe vp into the Zoffe, which is the toppe of the flatte rouse of the house, and to commaund his subiects to cease from their heate and fury. At Cortes his request hee went vp, and leaned ouer the wall to talke with them, who beginning to speake vnto them, they threw so many stones out of the streete, houses and windowes, that one happened to hit Mutezuma on the temples of his head, with which blow he fell downe to the ground: this was his ende, euen at the hands of his owne subiects and ballals against their willes: for the truth is, that a Spaniard helde a Target ouer his head, whereby they knew him not, nor yet would beleue that hee was there, for all the signes and tokens which were made vnto them. Cortes forthwith published the hurt and daunger of life of Mutezuma: some gaue credite to his tale, and othersome would not, but rather fought very stoutly. Three dayes Mutezuma remained in extreame paine, and at the ende departed his life.

And because it should appeare that his death was of the stripe that they had giuen, and not by any hurt receiued at their hands, he caused two Gentlemen of Mexico, who were pisoners, to carry him out vpon their backs, who

who certified the Citizens of the certaintie of his death, that at that presente time were giuing batterry to the house. But yet for all this they woulde not leaue off the combat, nor yet the warrres, as some of our men thought they woulde, but rather proceeded on their purpose, with greater courage and desire of reuenge. And when they rested, they made a pitifull lamentation, with preparation to bury their king in Chapultepec. On this sort died Mutezuma, who was holden for a God among the Indians. Some say that he desired to be Baptised at the Shrovetide before his death, and they prolonged the matter, thinking at Easter following to haue Chrised him with honour and triumph. But as it happened, it had bene better to haue done it at that time according to his request. But with the coming of Pamilo de Naruaes the thing was also delayed, and after he was wounded it was likewise forgotten, with the troubles that they were in. It was credible enformed, that Mutezuma was neuer consenting to the death of any Spaniarde, nor yet in conspiracie against Cortes, but rather loued him entierly: yet some are of another opinion, and both giue good reasons to approue their arguments, but the truth could not well be knowen, for at that time our men understode not the language, and againe, Mutezuma after his death, left none to open that secreete.

The Indians affirme that he was of the greatest blood of all his linage, and the greatest king in estate, that euer was in Mexico. It is also to be noted, that when the kingdoms do most flourish, then are they niest to a change, or else to change their Lord, as both appeare in this history of Mutezuma. Our men lost more by the death of Mutezuma then the natural Indians, if we consider the murder and destruction that incontinent did follow. Mutezuma was a man very moderate in his diet, and not so vicious

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as other Indians, although he had many wiues. He was also liberall and free harted : hee was esteemed for a verie wise man, in my iudgement he was either wise in letting things passe after that sort, or else a very foole, that did not vnderstand their doings : he was as deuout as warlike, for he had bene present in many battailes : and also other nine times victorie man for man in the field, he reigned seuentie yeares and certaine moneths.

The combat betweene the Spaniards
and the Indians.



After the death of Mutezuma, Cortes sent vnto his Penueles, and to the other Noble men who mainteined the warres, desiring them to come & speak with him, and they came, vnto whome Cortez spake from his wall where Mutezuma was slaine, saying, that if were mete that they should cease from war, and to chosse another king, and also to bury the dead, and that he would come to his burtall as his friend : likewise he signified vnto them, that for the loue he bare vnto Mutezuma who had intreated for them, hee had staied from the finall spoyles of the Cittie, and correction of them for their rebellion and obstinacie. But now that he had not vnto whome to haue respect, hee would both burne their houses, and chasten them, if that they submitted not themselues to his friendship.

They answered, that they would neither leaue the wars, nor yet esteeme his friendship, vntil they saw themselves in their libertie, and their wrongs wholly reuenged, yea and that without his counsell they could elect the king vnto whom of right the kingdome did appertain. And

And sithens the Gods hath taken our welbeloued Mutezuma, we will giue his body a Sepulchre, as vnto such a King both appertaine: yea and if he would goe and beare his friend Mutezuma company to the Gods, that then he should come forth, and they would quickly dispatch him: and as for the residue, they would haue rather war then peace, yea and that they were not menne that did yeelde with wordes. Also seeing their King was dead, for whole respecte they ceased to burne their houses, roste their bodies, and eate their fleshe, but now (quoth they) if ye depart not, we will not dally long time with you.

Cortes finding them stout and stubbozne, liked not the bargain. Againe he knewe well that their meaning was, that if they hadde departed from the Citie, to haue spoyled and murdered them by the way. And seeing that their liues, rule and gouernment consisted in strength of hand and good courage, he came forth in a morning with the three engines, foure peeces of Ordnance, and five hundred Spaniards, and three thousand Tlaxcaltecas to fight with the enemies, and to burne and spoyle their houses. They brought the engines nere vnto certaine greate houses whiche stood nere vnto a bridge, casting they scaling ladders on the walles, and so got by to the toppes where manye people were, and there combatted a while, but shortly turned to their forte againe, without doing any greate hurte, with one Spaniarde slaine, and manye wounded, and also the engines broken and spoyled, yea the multitude of Indians were so thicke, and flew vpon the Ordnance in suche sorte, that they had no leysure to discharge them. The stones came also so thicke from the house toppes, that the enemies were sone at an end. And the Citizens hauing housed them againe in the forte and lodging, began to amende the hurt done in their houses, and to recouer the streetes that were lost: also the greate

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Temple, in the Tower whereof, five hundred principall men hadde fortified themselves with vittalles, stones, and long Launces, piked with iron and flint stone verie sharpe, but truly they did much hurt with stones. This Tower was high and strong, as I haue before declared, and stood nere vnto the Spaniardes fort, which from that Tower receiued much hurt. Although Cortes was somewhat sadde and heauie, yet he ceased not like a good Captaine to comfort and encourage his menne, and alwayes was the first man at anie bzunt or assay, and his heart coulde not permit him to remaine penned vp in that fort, wherefore he took three hundred Spaniardes, and went to assiege the high tower. Thre or foure dayes he ceased not that enterprize, but coulde not come to the toppe, being so high a thing, and manie persons in defence of the same, well prouided, with fit munition for the purpose, so that our men came dayly tumbling downe the stappes, flying to their house with broken pates, so that our Spaniardes dismaied more and more, and many murmured at the matter: you may well iudge howe Cortes his heart was affrighted, for the Indians encreased still in courage, hauing the better hand, and dayly victorie from the high Tower. But now Cortes determined to leaue his house, and not to returne therevnto againe, vntill he had wonne the Tower. He bound his Target to his arme which had bene hurt before, and beseged the Tower againe with many of his men, Tlaxcaltecas and other friends, and many times although they were beaten downe, rose againe succouring one another, till at length they got to the toppe, and there fought with the Indians, till some of them lept out of the Tower, and stood hanging vpon the liks of the wall, which were thre in number, the one higher then the other, and a foute broade. Some fell downe to the ground, who besides their fallies, were

A valiant
man.

were receiued vpon the swordes point , and in this sorte they left none aliue. Thre houres they fought on the top of the Tower, bycause y^e multitude of Indians wer great. In conclusion, the whole five hundred men ther dyed very valiantly, and if their weapon and knowledge had ben equal, the victo^{ry} had ben doubtfull. Cortez set fire on all the Chappels, and other thre Chappels, where infinite Idols were , yet those silly Indians lost no pointe of courage with the losse of their Temple and Gods, which touched them at the hearte , but rather began with moze furie to assault the Spanishe house.

Powthe Mexicans refused the offer of
peace made by Cortez.

Cortez considering the great multitude of Indians his enemies, and also the greates courage, with desire of reuengement: and waying also how his men were weak and wearied with fight, yet (I may say) with great desire to goe from thence, if that the Citizens would haue suffered them : he began againe to require them with peace, and to desire them of truce, saying vnto them also, that they should consider how, that many of their side were slaine, and yet they coulde kill none of them. They being moze hard harted then befoze , answered that they utterly refused his offer, saying that they woulde neuer haue peace with those who had slaine their men and burned their Goddes : yea (quoth they) and although some of vs are killed , yet we also doe both kill and hurt, for yee are mortal men, and not immortall, as we are: behold ye also the number of vs, by^e Zories, in windows and streets: assure your selues there are thre times as many within the houses. So we shall sooner make an end of you killing one and one , then you shall doe of vs by killing

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killing a thousand by thousande, or ten thousand by ten thousand: for ending all these whome y^e see, there will come so many moze, and after them so manie moze: but if ye were once killed, there would come no moze Spaniards, yea, and when our weapons cannot thoroughly destroy you, that then wee will serue you to death with hunger and famine, yea, and though now you would depart, it is too late, because the brydges is thzowne downe, and the caluises broken, and succour by water you haue none. In these communications the day was spent, and night at hande, their heads occupied and hearts full beaule, for hunger alone had bene inough to finish their dayes, without any further warre. That night, the one halfe of the number of Spaniardes armed themselves, and late in the euening came forth into the Citie. The Indians now being not accustomed to fight at such hours, the Spaniardes burned aboute thze hundred houses in one strēte, and in some of them found many Citizens, of whome they left not one aliue. They burned and spoiled thze Zoties nere vnto their owne lodging, which hadde greatly annoyed them befoze. The residue of the Spaniardes which abode at home, amended the engins, and repaired their houses. As this iourney happened well vnto them, early in the morning they proceeded out againe, and went to the brydge where there engins had bene broken, and although they found there great resistance, yet the matter imposed their liues. They fought with noble courage, and got many Towers, houses and Zoties. They wan also foure of the eight brydges which were in the Citie, leauing gard in those places which were wonne, returning to their campe with many wounds, beeing both wearie, and full of care and sorrow.

The next day they came forth againe, and wanne the other foure brydges, and dammed them by with earth, in
such

such sort, that the Horsemen that way followed the enemies to the firme lande. Cortes being occupied in damming vp the ditches, and making plaine way of the bzidges, there came certaine messengers vnto him, saying, that neare at hand, abode many noble men and Captaines to treat of peace, requiring him to come vnto them, praying him to bring Tlamacazque his prisoner, who was one of the principallest of the Diuels Cleargie there, to heare the treatie of the matter.

Cortes went, and carried the Priest with him, whome he appointed to require them to cease from contention, and to remoue their siege, but hee came not backe with answere. All this was a sayned fetch, to see the state of the Chyistian Campe, or else to recouer their religious Tlamacazque. Cortez seeing their deceit, went his way to dinner, and was no sooner set at his meate, but certaine Tlaxcaltecas came running in with an open crie, saying, that their enemies hadde recouered againe the bzidges, and wente armed vp and downe the strates, and hadde also slaine the mosse of the Spanyardes that were lesse in garde of the bzidges. Incontinent Cortez went out with the Horsemen, who were readiest at that time, and made way through the troupe of enemies, following them euen vnto the firme lande, but at their return, the footemen that were hurt and wearied in keeping of the strate, could not susteine the force and furie of the infinite number of Indians, which came vpon them, yea with much adoe they could escape home to their sort.

The multitude was not so great of Indians in the strate, but also by water in Canoas, so that stones flew on both sides, and galled our men cruelly. Cortes was hurt in one of his knees very sore, whereupon it was blowne abroade through the Citie, that Cortes was slaine, which newes did greatly discourage our men, and much animate the

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Indians. But yet Cortes for all his paine and hurt, ceased not to embolden and encourage his souldiers, who set a fresh upon the enemies. At the farthest bridge fell two Horses, which troubled much our men that followed. Cortes made such way among the Indians, that the Horsemen had reasonable passage, and being the hindmost man himselfe, he was in great perill of taking. It was a marvell to see what a spring he gaue with his Horse, and thereby escaped, but in conclusion, with stones they were forced to returne to their hold, being very late.

Asone as he had ended his supper, he sent some of his men to guard the streete and bridges, and to defende the same against the enemye. They were somewhat ioyfull of their proceedings and good successe which they hadde the same day.

Howe Cortez fledde from
Mexico.



At Cortes waying the substance of the matter, sawe in effect that his side went to wracke, wherefore he requested his men to depart from thence, who were not a little ioyfull to heare their Captain pronounce that saying, for selue or none of them escaped vnhurt & wounded. They feared death, but yet wanted not stomache and heart to die. The Indians were so many, that if the Christians should but only haue cut their throats without resistance, yet they had bin too selue for that purpose.

They were also in such necessitie of bread, that pinched them sore. Their powder and shotte was spent, and almoste all other provision. Their house was weinigh beaten.

beaten downe about their eares. All these causes were sufficient to leaue Mexico, and to seeke to saue their liues: yet on the other side, they iudged it an euil case, to turne their backs to their enemies, for (quoth they) the very stones riseth vp against him that flieth. They feared to gaine the passage of the arches where the bridges hadde bene, so that now they were full beset with sorrowe, care, and miserie: but in fine, they all agreed to depart that night, for many dayes before, one of their companie called Botello, who presumed to haue good skill in the Art of Pigromancie, did declare vnto them, that if they would depart from Mexico at a certaine houre appoynted, that then they should escape, or else not: but whether they gaue credite to his sayings or no, they fully determined to depart that night, and like vnto politicke and good Souldiers, they prepared a bridge of tymber to carrie with them, to passe over the arches where bridges had bene. This is most certaine, they were all priuie and agreed to the departure, and not as some report, that Cortez fled away, leauing aboue two hundreth Spanyardes in the house, who knewe nothing of his departure, and were afterwarde all slaine, sacrificed, and eaten in Mexico, for out of the Cittie hee could not haue departed so secretly, but it shoulde haue come to their eares: holue muche moze out of one house, where they were all together.

Cortez called Iohn de Guzman his Chamberlain, commaunding him to open the Hall where the treasure was, and called all the officers and others, to see the distribution of the same. First the Kings portion was deducted, and hee gaue a Horse of his owne, and men to carrie it: and for the remainder, he willed euery man to take what he listeth, for he gaue it franchly vnto them. The souldiers which had come with Naruaez, & now serued Cortez, were

Reward of a
covetous
minde.

some what hungry of treasure, so that they tooke as much golde and other riches, as they might possibly carry, but it cost them deare, for at their going out of the Citie, with the waight of their heauie burthens, they could neither fight, nor yet make haste on their way, vpon which occasion, the Indians caught many of them, and dreyne them by the heeles to the slaughter-house of Sacrifice, where they were slaine and eaten: yet those that escaped, had eache of them some profite, for that pzaie was well worth seuen hundred thousand Duckets: but being things wrought in great peces, they were troublesome to carrie, so that he which carried least, escaped best. Yet some doe thinke, that there remained in that house a great part of the treasure, but it was not so, for after our men had taken what they would, then came in the Tlaxcaltecas, and made spoyle of all the rest.

Cortes gaue charge to certaine of his men, to gard with much respect, a sonne and two daughters of Mutezuma, Cacama, and his brother, and many other great Gentlemen his prisoners.

He also appointed other fortie men to carry the brydge of timber, and other Indians to carry the Ordnance, and a litle graine of Corn that remained.

The vanguard hee committed to Gonsalo de Sandoval, and Antonio de Quiniones: and the reer garde hee committed to Pedro de Aluarado, and he himselfe remained with a hundred men, to vse his discretion. In this order, and with good deliberation, at midnight he departed from Mexico in a darke myst, and so quietly, that none of the Indians knew thereof, commending themselves vnto God, beseeching him in their prayers, to deliuer them from that present danger, and then hee tooke the way of Tlacopan, being the same way that he came into the Citie.

The

The first arche wherof the bzidge was thzowne down, they passed with the timber bzidge which they caried with them at ease.

In this meane time the watche and espies which war, ded in the hiest temples, had descried their flight, and began to sounge their instruments of warre with a maruelous crie, saying, they flie, they flie : And sodenly with this noyse, they hauing no armour to put on, noz other impedimēt, ioyned an infinit company of them together, and followed with great celeritie, yea and with suche a beaute and terrible noyse, that all the lake pronounced the Eccho, saying, let the cursed and wicked be slaine, who hath done vnto vs such great hurte.

But when Cortes came to plante his bzidge vpon the second arche of the Citie, there mette him a greate company of Indians to defende the same, yet with much adoe he planted his bzidge and passed ther vpon with fise hozsemen and a hundred Spaniardes, and with them proceeded through the Calley to the maine lande, passing many perillous places, wherein swamme both man and hozse, for the bzidge of timber was broken : this done, he leste his foote menne on the firme lande, vnder the gouernment of Iohn Xemarillo, and returned back with the fise hozsmen for to succour and helpe the residue of his company which were behinde. But when he came vnto them, he found some fighting with great courage, but many slain. He lost also his golde and sardage, his ozdinance and prisoners, yea in fise he found, a maruellous change and alteration of the estate he leste them in, where vpon like a good Captaine he shewed his wisdom and valour, helping and re-couering as many of his men, as he might, and bzought them into safetie. He leste also Captaine Aluarado to succour the rest.

But Aluarado with all his power and strength could

not resist the furie of the enemies , wherefore with the Launce in his hande hee beganne to flie, seeing the great slaughter of his companie , so that hee was forced to passe ouer the dead carcafes, yea, and vpon some that were not thoroughly dead, who made a lamentable , pitifull , and dolefull mane. And comming to the next arche , whose byidge was broken downe, of necessitie he toke his lance, and there with leaped such a space , that the Indians were amazed to see, for none of his fellows could doe the like, although they approued the enterprise , and were rewarded for their labour.

When Cortes sawe this sorrowfull sight, he cast him downe, not to take any rest for his wearinesse, but only to bewaile the dead men, yea, and also them that were alike and in great daunger , and also to ponder the vnstedfastnesse of the cruell fortune in the perdition of so manie his friends, such great treasure and lordshippe, so great a Citie and Kingdome , but also to bewaile the sorrowfull estate that hee himselfe stode in , seeing the most of his men wounded and hurt, and knowing not whither to go, for that he was not certaine of the helpe and friend shippe of Tlaxcallan. Yea and what hard heart, would not haue relented to behold the dead bodies, who a little before had entred that same way , with such magnificall triumph, pompe and pleasure. But yet hauing care of those whom he had left on the firme lande, he made hast to Tlacopan.

This sorrowfull night, which was the tenth of July, in An. 1520. were slaine about 450. Spaniards, 4000. Indian friends, and 46. horse, yea and (as I iudge) all the prisoners which were in his companie. If this mishap had fortuned in the day time, possible so many and so great a number had not perished. But where it fortuned by night, the noise of the wounded was sorrowfull, & of the victors horrible and feareful, The Indians cried victorie, calling vpon their

their diuelish and filthie Gods with ioy and pleasure: our men being ouercom, cursed their vnfortunat lot, yea the howler, and he that brought them thither, others cried vnto God for succour, others said helpe, helpe, for I stande in daunger of drowning. I know not certainly whether mo perished in the water or the lande, hoping to saue themselves by swimming and leaping ouer the flutes and broken places, for they say that a Spaniarde was no sooner in the water, but an Indian was vpon his backe. They haue great dexteritie and skill in swimming, so that catching any Spaniard in the water, they would take him by the one arm, and carry him whither they pleased, yea and wold vnpanch him in the water. If these Indians had not occupied themselves in taking the spoyle of those that were fallen and slaine, certainly one Christian had not escaped that day. But in fine the greatest number of Spaniards that were killed, were those that went most laden with gold plate and other iewels, and those which escaped were they that caried least burdens, and the first that with noble courage made way to passe through the troupe of Indians.

Howe we may safely say, that the conetous desire of gold, wherof they had plenty, was cause of their death, and they may aunswere that they died rich. After that those which had escaped, were past the calley, the Indians staied and followed them no further, either for that they contented themselves with that which they had done, or else they durst not fight in open field: But principally it is thought, that they abode to mourne and lament for the death of Mutezuma his children, not knowing till then their sorrowfull ende. But now seeing the thing present before their eyes, they wrang their hands, and made a pitiful dole and crie, and the rather because they themselves had slaine them against their wils.

The

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The battell of Otumpan, a notable victorie.



The inhabitants of Tlacopan, knew not how our men came spoiled, hurt, and overthowen, and againe our men stood in a maze, & knew not what to doe, nor whither to go. Cortes came vnto them and comforted them, and placed them in order befoze him, requiring them to make hast, vntill they might come

into the broad field, befoze such time as the men of Tlacopan should hear of the newes passed, & so to arm themselves and ioine with fortie thousand Mexicans, who after the mourning for their friends, came marching after them. He placed in the vanguard the Indians his friends, & passed through certaine tilled ground, and continually fought as they went, vntill they came to a high hill, where was a towler, and a temple, which is called our Ladie church at this day. The Indians slue some of the Spaniards which came in the regard, and many of their Indian friends, befoze they could get vp to the top of the hill. They lost much of the gold that had remained, and with great hazard escaped through the multitude of Indians with life: their horses which remained alieue, were foure and twentie, who were tired both with trauell and hunger, and the Spaniards their maisters, with the residue could scarcely stirre hand or foote with wearinesse of fighting, and penurie of hunger, for all that day and night they ceased not from fight, eating nothing at all.

A wearie
iourney.

In this Temple were reasonable lodgings, where they fortified themselves as well as they might, and thanke one to another, but their supper was very slender. After their simple feast was ended, they went and beheld

an

an infinite number of Indians, which had beset them almost round about, making a marvellous shout and crie, knowing that they were without victuals, whiche onely is a warre woxler then to fight with the enemye. They made many fiers with the woodde of sacrifice, rounde about the tower and temple, and with this policie, at midnight departed secretly. It happened that they had Tlaxcalteca to be their guide, who knew wel the way, assuring to bring them into the iurisdiction of Tlaxcallan: with this guide they began to iourney. Cortez placed his wounded men and sardage in the midst of his company, the soldiers that were whole and in health, he deuised into the vanguard & regard: he could not passe so secretly, but that they were espied by the Indian scout, whiche was nere at hand, who gaue aduise therof incontinent. Five horsemen which went before to discover, fell among certayne companies of Indians, which attended their coming to robbe them, and seeing the horsemen, they suspected y^e the whole army was at hand, whereupon they fled, but yet seeing them few in number, stood & ioynd with the other Mexicans, that folowed & pursued our men three leagues, vntil they came to a hil where was another temple with a good tower and lodging, where they lodged that night without supper. They departed in the morning from thence, and wente through a cragged & naughtie way, to a great towne the inhabitants whereof were fledde for feare, so that they abode there two daies to rest themselves, to cure their men, and horses: also they somewhat eased their hungry stomaks and carried from thence prouision, although not much, for they had none to carrie it. And being departed from thence, many enemies pursued them & persecuted them very sore. Likewise y^e guide erred out of his way, & at length came to a little village of few houses, where they reposed y^e night. In the morning they proceeded vpon their way, and the

A painful
man.

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Cortez wounded with a
sling.

Oh noble
Cortez.

enemies still pursuing and troubled them soze all the day. Cortez was wounded with the strike of a sling, and thereby was in greafe danger of life, for his head so ranckled, that of necessitie they were forced to take out certaine peeces of his skull, wherbyon he was dzien to seeke a solitarie place in the wildernesse to cure him, and in going thitherwardes, the enimies wounded five Spaniards and foure hozes, whereof one died, and that was eaten among them for a sumptuous supper, and yet not sufficient for them all, for there was none of them which were not vexed with hunger. I speake not of their woundes and wearinesse, things sufficient to haue made an ende of life. But certainly the Spanishe nation can abide moze hunger then any other, and especially these with Cortez did shewe the proofe. The next day in the morning departing from a little Village, and fearing the multitude of enimies, Cortez commaunded ech hozseman to take a sicke manne behinde him, and those that were somewhat stronger, to holde by the hozse taitles and stirrappes: he likewise made churches for other some to ease them, and would not leaue one of his men behinde him to be a pray and supper for the Indian enimies. This aduise was very profitable as things fel out, yea also there were some of them that caried vpon their backe their fellows, and thereby were saued. They had not iournied a full league into a plaine fielde, when there mette them an infinite number of Indians who compassed the round about, and assaulted our men in such force, that they verily beleaued that day to ende generally their liues, for there were many Indians that durst wassell with our men, man to man, yea and layd some of them in the duste, and dzewe them by the heeles, whether it were with the great courage which they had, or whether it were with the frauit, hunger and hurtes of our men I know not, but greafe pite

tie it was to see, how they were drawne by the Indian ent-
mies, and what grieuous mone they made.

Cortes that wente with vigilant care comfortyng his
men, as muche as was possible to doe, and well perusing
the great daunger that they were in, commending him-
selfe to God, sette spurres to his horse and made way thro
row the greatestt troupe of Indians, and came vnto the cap-
taine generall who bare the Royall standart of Mexico,
and passed him thzough with his Lance, wherof he incon-
tinent died. But when the Indians salwe the standart fal-
len, they thze w their aunciente on the grounde and fled,
scattering them hère and there like men amazed, know-
ing not whitther to fly, for such is their custome in warre,
that when they see the generall slaine, they forthwith
leauē the field. When our weary soules began to recouer
hart and strength, and the horsemen followed the to their
great annoyānce and slaughter. It was credibly reported,
that there were that day in field, 200000. Indians. And the
fielde where this battaile was fought is called Otumpān: Indians.
there was neuer a moze notāble facte done in India, nor
greater victoꝝ since the first discouery of the same. And
as manye Spaniardes as salwe Hernando Cortes fighte
that day, did holde opinion, that neuer one man did moze
greater feats in armes, and that he only was the meane
in his owne person to saue and deliuer them all.

The entertainment which the Spaniardes
had in Tlaxcallan.



After this victoꝝ obtained, Cortes with his
company went to lodge in a house planted
alone, in a plaine grounde, from whence
appeared the Mountaines of Tlaxcallan,
wherof our menne muche reioyced: yet

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on the other side they stood in doubt whether they should find them their friends in such a dangerous season, for because the unfortunate man that lieth, findeth nothing in his favour, for all thing that he pretendeth, happeneth cleane contrary. That night Cortes himselfe was scoute, not because he was moze whole then his fellowes, but like a good Captaine, he deuised the trauaile and paines equally, euen as their hurte and damage was come.

Being day, they iournied in plaine and straight way, directly to the Mountaines and Prouince of Tlaxcallan, they passed by a sweet fountain of water, where they well refreshed themselves, and after they came to Huazilpan, a towne of Tlaxcallan, of 4000. households, wher they were lovingly receiued, & abundantly prouided for thre dayes, which they abode there refreshing and curing their weary bodies. Some of the townes men would giue the nothing without payment, but the mooste parte did vse them very gently: Unto this Towne came Maxixca, Xicotencath, Axotecaleh, and many other principal persos of Tlaxcallan, and Huexozinco with. 50000. men of war, who were going to Mexico to succour the Spaniards, knowing of their troubles, but not of their hurt and spoile, yet some holde opinion that they hauing certaine knowledge of all their mishappes and flight from Mexico, came only to comforte them, and in the name of all their communalte and State, to offer them their Towne, in conclusion, they seemed sorrowfull for their misfortunes, and againe ioyfull to see them there: Pea some of them with anguise of harte wepte, and sayde, we did abuse and warne ye, that the Mexicans were Traytours and wicked persons, and yet ye woulde not beleue vs: we despitte and bewaile your troubles, but if it please you, lette vs goe thither to reuenge your iniuries, and the death of your Chyistians, and our Citizens: and if now ye will

50000. men.

Faithfull
friendes.

will not, that then it may please you to goe with vs home to our houses, for to recreate your persons, and to cure your wounds.

Cortes did cordially reioyce, to heare and finde such succour and friendship, in such good men of warre, whereof he stood in doubt as he came thitherward. He gaue them most heartie thankses for their louing offer, curtesie, and good will. He gaue vnto them of such Jewels as remained, and said vnto them, the time will come, that I shall desire your helpe against the Mexicans, but now presently it is needfull to cure my sicke and wounded men.

The noble men that were there present, besought him to giue them leaue to skirmish with the Indians of Culhua, for as yet many of them wandered thereabout. Cortes graunted their request, and sent with them some of his men, which were lustie, and in good health, who proceeded forth all together, and in that iourney slue many Indian enemies, so that after this time, the enemies appeared no more. Then with triumph, pleasure, and victorie, they departed toward the Citie, and our men followed. It is credibly reported, that twentie thousande men and women met them by the way with sundry kinds of meates: I doe beleene that the most of them came to see them, for the great loue which they bare vnto them, and like wise to enquire of their friendes which had gone with them to Mexico, of whō few returned. In Tlaxcallon they were honourably receiued, and well vsed. Maxixca gaue his house to Cortes, and the residue of his companie were hosted at Gentlemens houses, who cherished them exceedingly, whereby they forgot the paynes, sorowes, and travels past, for in fiftene dayes before, they lay on the bare ground.

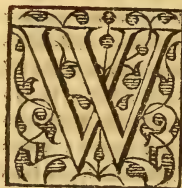
Certainly the Spaniards were much indebted to the Tlaxcaltecas, for their loialtie and faithfull friendship,

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especially vnto that good and vertuous Gentleman Max-
 ixca, who threwe Xicotential downe the stayres and
 steps of the chiefe Temple, soz giuing his counsell to kill
 the Spaniards, meaning to reconcile himselfe to the
 Mexicans.

He also made two Orations, the one to the men, and
 the other to the women, in the great saunour and praise
 of the Spaniards, putting them in remembrance, howe
 that they had not eaten salt, nor woyn cloth of cotton wool
 in many yeares befoze, vntil now that their friends were
 come: and to this day these Indians doe much presume of
 their fidelitie, and likewise of the resistance and battell
 they made with Cortes in Teocazinco, so that now when
 they celebrate any great feast, or receiue any Christian
 visiking, there commeth of them out into the field firtie
 or seuentie thousand men, to skirmish and fight in the
 same order as they did with Cortez.

The protestation and request of the Soul-
 diers to Cortez.



When Cortes departed first from Tlax-
 callon toward Mexico to visit Mute-
 zuma, he left there twentie thousand
 Castlins of gold and moe, besides the
 kings portion which was sent with
 Monteio and Portocarrere. He left
 there also many other things if nede
 should haue hapned in Mexico of mo-
 ney, or other things to prouide his men in Vera Crux, and
 this he left there also, to proue the fidelity of his friends in
 Tlaxcallon. And after he had obteyned the victorie against
 Naruaes, he wrote vnto the Captaine that he should send
 for the same, for reason required that in all things they
 should haue their parts.

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The Captaine of Vera Crux sent fiftie Spaniards and sixe Hozsmen for the same, who at their return, were slain and taken prisoners with all that treasure, by the men of Culhua, who had rebelled through the comming of Pamfilo de Narvaez, robbing & spoiling sundry dayes. But whē Cortes vnderstood this newes, his ioy was turned to sorow, not onely for the gold and treasure so much, as for the losse of his men, fearing also some other warre or byrroze to haue bene in the rich towne of Vera Crux, whereupon he sent a messenger thither, who returned in short time certifying that all the inhabitauntes there were in good health, and also all the Comarcans quiet, and without any token of alteration. This newes and answer pleased Cortes and all his company, which desired to go thither, but he would not permit them, wherefore they beganne to murmure and to exclaime, saying: what thinketh Cortes, what meaneth he to do with vs? why will he keep vs here to die an euill death? what haue wee offended him, that he will not let vs goe? we are alreadie full of wearinesse, our bodies are yet full of fresh woundes, we haue spent our blood, and are now without strength and apparell: we see our selues in a straunge Countrey, and full of misery, environed with enemies, yea and without hope to come to that high place from whence we fell, yea then mighte we be accounted for worse then madde men, to come into the perilles from whence wee escaped: we meane not now to ende our liues so desperately, as he woulde haue vs, for with the insatiable thirste of honoure and glozie, hee esteemeth not his life, neyther ours. He doth not likewise consider, that he wanteth men, hozles, artillerie, and armour, things so necessarie for the warres, yea, hee also wanteth victuall, which is a thing moste principall of all: what shall wee say, but that he erreth, and is deceined, in giuing credite to these

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these Tlaxcaltecas, who are like vnto the other nations of India, which are light, chaungeable, and louers of new things, yea and rather, in effect of troth, they better loue the Culhuacans, then the Spanish Nation, yea & although they now dissemble, yet when they shall see a great army of *Mexicans* come vpon them, they will then deliuer be aline, to be eaten, and sacrificed, soz it is an olde rule, that friendship doth not long enture betwixt them that are of sundry religion, apparell, and speech.

After all these complaints and murmurations among themselves, they made a protestation and request, in fozm as it were in the name of the King and all the companie, praying him incontinent to depart from thence, and to go with them to the Towne of *Vera Crux*, befoze the enemies might disturbe their way and passage, and then they to remaine both bought and solde, and shut vp as it were in a prison: also they declared, that in *Vera Crux* they shoulde haue better oppoztunitie to make themselves strong, if that he meant to returne againe vpon *Mexico*, or else to take shipping, if so it should seeme conuenient.

Cortes hearing this request, and determination of his Souldiers, was at his wittes ende, imagining that their pretence was, onely to procure him to goe from thence, and afterwardes to rule him at their pleasures, and being a thing cleane contrary to his pretended purpose, he answered them as followeth.

The Oration made by Cortez, in answer
to his Souldiers demand.



My maisters, I would do and fulfil your request, if it were a thing mete and conuenient for you, for there is not one alone of you, howe much more all in generall, for whome I should not willingly aduenture my goods and life, if he should need the same: for why your deeds haue bin such, that I stand bound neuer to forget them, or else to shew my selfe an ingratefull man. And thinke you not good friends, although I do not fulfill the thing whiche you so earnestly desire, that therfore I esteem not your authoritie: but in not granting to the same, I do exalt and esteem you in greater reputation: for why: in our departing now from hence, our honor is blotted and stained for euermore, and in abiding here, we shall like valiant men preserve the same. What nation is there, that had rule, dominion, and Empire in this world, that hath not bin overcome at some time? What famous Captain returned home to his house, for the losse of one battaile? none truly, for he that doth not perseuer, shall neuer triumph with Lady victorie: he that retireth, sheweth that he flieth, and remaineth a mocking stocke for all men: but he that sheweth nobly his face, doth utter the courage of his heart, yea & is both feared, and also beloued.

If we now should depart from hence, these our friends would accept and iudge vs for cowards, and refuse perpetually our friendship. Likewise our enemies would iudge the same, and neuer hereafter stand in feare of vs, which should bee a great shame vnto our estimation. Is there any among vs, that would not hold himselfe affren-

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ted,

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fed, if it shoulde be saide, that he turned his backe and fled, how much moze would it be a dishonoz for vs all to haue the same respozt?

I doe muche maruell at the greatenesse of your innurable heartes in battell: you were wont to be desirous of warres, and nowe that suche iust and laudable warre doth offer it selfe, you doe feare and refuse the same: sure it is a thing cleane contrary to our nature. What is hee that will prate of harness, and neuer weare none? It was neuer yet sene in all this India and new worlde, that any of our nation retired with feare. And woulde you nowe that it shoulde be said, that Cortes and his company fledde, being in securitie, and without perill or daunger? I beseech God not to permitte any such thing. The warres doe muche consist in fame: why then? what better thing would you desire, than to be here in Tlaxcallan in despite of all youre enemies, yea proclaiming open warres against them, and they not dare to annoy vs? Wherefore you may well consider, that here you are moze sure then if you were from hence, so that here in Tlaxcallan you are honozed with securitie and strength, and besides this, you haue all things necessarie for phisick and medicine, to cure youre woundes and obtaine youre health: yea, and I am bolde to saye, that if you were in youre owne naturall Country, you should not haue the like, nor yet be so much made off.

I do nowe meane to send for our men that are in Coazacoalco and Almeria, and so we shall haue a reasonable arme: yea and although they come not, we are sufficient, for we were fewer in number when first we entred into this Countrey, hauing no friends: and likewise you knowe well, it is not the number that doth fighte, but the couragious hearte and minde. I haue sene one of you discomfite a whole army, as Ionathas did, yea and many among

among you haue had victorie against a thousand, yea ten thousand Indians, as King David had against the Philistines. I looke dayly for Horses from the Ilandes, and other armour and artillerie we shall haue from Vera Cruz. And as for vittalles, take you no care, for I will prouide you abundantly, for they are things that alwaies followe the Conquerours: and as for these Citizens of Tlaxcallan, I binde my selfe that you shall finde them trustie, loyall, and perpetuall friends, for so they haue promised me vpon their solemne othes, yea, and if they had meante otherwise, what better opportunitie of time could they haue wished, then these latter dayes, where as we lay sicke in their owne beddes and houses, yea some of vs lame, wounded, and in manner rotten, and they like loving friends haue not only holpen you, but also serued you with diligence of seruantes, for they woulde rather chuse to be your slaues, then subiectes to the Mexicans: theyr hatred is such to them, and their loue so greate to you. And because you shall see the troth, I wil now proue them and you, against these of Tepeacac, who sctue of late dayes twelue Spaniardes. And if this iourney happen euill, then will I follow your request, and if it please God that it happen well, then will I entreate and pray you to follow my counsell.

The Souldiers hearing this comfortable speche, beganne to lay aside their desire to goe from thence to Vera Cruz. They answered generally, that they woulde obey his commaundement, if it shoulde seme with the promise made, touching the successe of the victorie in Tepeacac, and lightly seldome it happeneth, that a Spaniard saith no, when he is required to goe on warfare, for it is holden for a dishonour and shame.

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The warres of Tepeacac.

Cortes founde himsele at hearts ease with this answer, for it was a thing that had much troubled him : and vndoubtedly if he had followed his fellowes demand, he should neuer haue recovered Mexico again, and they like wise had bene slain in the way towards Vera Crux, for they had many perillous places to passe. Ech one of them waxed whole of his wounds, sauing some which died for want of looking to in time, leauing their woundes filthie & vnbound, as Surgions do affirme, with also their great trauel and weaknesse. And likewise other some remained lame & halt, which was no small grief and losse : but the most part recovered health, as I haue declared. After twentie dayes fully past, which they had abode in Tlaxcallan, Cortes determined to make war with the Indians of Tepeacac, which is a great Towne, and not far from thence, for they had slaine twelue Spaniards, which came from Vera Crux, towards Mexico. Likewise they were of the league of Culhua, and therfore were holpen by the Mexicans, and did many times great hurt to the inhabitants of Tlaxcallan, as Xicotencatl did testifie. Cortes desired his louing friend Maxixca, and diuers other Gentlemen, to goe with him, who forthwith entred into counsell with the states & communalitie of the Citie, and there determined with generall consent to giue vnto him fortie thousand fighting men, besides many Tamemoz, who are swift carriers, to beare the baggage, victuall, and other things. With this number of Tlaxcaltecas, his own men and horses, he went to Tepeacac, requiring them in satisfaction of the death of the twelue Christians, that they should now yeld themselues to obedience of the Emperour, and that hereafter neuer moze to receiue any Mexica into

the vvest India.

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into their towne or houses , neither yet any of the Province of Culhua.

The Tepeacacs answered, that they had slaine the Spaniards for god and iust cause , which was , that being time of warre they presumed to passe through their country by force , without their will and licence. And also that the Mexicans and Culhuacans were their frends and Lords, whome alwayes they would friendly entertaine within their towne and houses , refusing vnto their offer and request , protesting to giue no obedience to whom they knew not, wishing them therefore, to returne incontinent to Tlaxcallan, except they had desire to end their wearie daies.

Cortes invited them diuerse times with peace, and seeing it preuailed not, he began his wars in earnest. Their enemies likewise with the fauour of the Culhuacans were braue and lusty, and began to stoppe and defend their pretended entrance. And they being many in number, with diuerse valiant men among them, began to skirmish sundry times, but at the end they were ouerthrowne, and many slaine, without killing any Spaniard, although manie Tlaxcaltecas were killed that day.

The Lords and principall persons of Tepeacac seeing their ouerthrow , and that their strength could not preuaile, yelded themselues vnto Cortes for vassals of the Emperour, with condition to banish for euer their allyed friends of Culhua. And that he should punish and correct at his will and pleasure, all those which were occasion of the death of the twelue Spaniards. For which causes and obstinacie, at the first Cortes iudged by his sentence, that all the Townes which had bene priue to the murder, should for euer remaine captiues & slaues: others as firme, that he ouercame them without any condition, and corrected them for their disobedience, being Sodomites,

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idolaters and eaters of mans flesh, and chiefly for example of all others. And in conclusion, they were condemned for slaves, and within twentie dayes that these wars lasted, he pacified all y^e p^rovince, which is verie great: he d^rave from thence the Culhuacans: he th^rew down the idols, and the chiefest persons obeyed him. And for more assurance he built there a towne, naming it Segura de la Frontera: he appointed all officers for the purpose, being a towne situated in the high way frō Vera Crux to Mexico, wher by the Christians and strangers might passe without daunger. In these warres served like faithfull friends the Indians of Tlaxcallan, Huexozinco and Chololla, promising the like service & succour against Mexico, yea, and rather better then w^rose. With this victorie the Spaniards recovered great fame, for they were thought to haue bene slaine.

The great authoritie that Cortes had among the Indians.



After that these things were finished, Cortes cōmaunded and gave licence to all the Indian friends, to returne home vnto their houses, except his assured friends of Tlaxcallan, whom he kept in his company for the wars of Mexico: he now dispatched a post to Vera Crux, commanding that foure of the ships which Naruaes had brought, should be sent with al speed to the Iland of Santo Domingo, for men, horses, armour, powder and other munition, also for swollen cloth, linnen, shoes, and many other things: and wrote his letters for the same to the licenciad Rodrigo de Figueroa, & to the whole magistrates of Chancery, certifying them of all their proceedings in that country, beseeching them of helpe and succor, and

and that forthwith to be sent by the messengers.

This done, he sent twentie horsemen, two hundred Spaniards, and many Indians vnto Zacatami, & Xalaxinco, which were townes subiect to the Mexicans, and placed in the high way to Vera Crux, who had slaine certaine Spaniards passing that way. This companie went thither, with their accustomed protestations, which prevailed not, whereupon followed fire and spoyle, many Gentlemen and other principall persons came to yeelde themselves to Cortes, more for feare than for good will, crauing pardon for their offence, promising also not to offend againe, nor yet at any time to take armour against the Spaniards. Cortes pardoned them, and then his armie returned, with determination to keepe his Christmasse in Tlaxcallan, which was within twelue dayes following. He left a Captaine with thre score Spaniards in the new towne of Segura, to keepe that passage, and also to put in feare the Comercans that dwelled thereabout: he sent before his whole armie, and hee himselfe went with twentie horsemen from thence to Coliman, to lodge there that night, being a Citie of his allied friends, and there to ordaine and make by his authoritie, both Noble men and Captaines, in lue of them which died with the disease of small pockes. He abode there thre dayes, in the which the newe Lordes were ordained, who afterwards remained his especiall friends. The next day hee came to Tlaxcallan, being fife leagues distant from thence, where he was triumphantly receiued. And truly at that time he made a iourney most woorthy of renowne and glorie.

At this season his deare friend Maxixca was departed this transitorie life, for whome he mourned clothed in blacke, after the Spanish fashion: he left behind him certaine sonnes, of whom the eldest was xj. yeares of age,
whome

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whome Cortes named and appointed for Lord of his fathers estate, and the commons did certifie it to appertaine vnto him. This was no small glozie for Cortes to giue estates, and also to take them away at his pleasure, yea and that those Indians should haue him in such feare and respect, that none durst doe any thing in accepting the inheritance of their fathers without his good will and licence.

Now Cortes procured that euery man should make his harness, weapons and provision ready and in good order: he made also great haste in building Vergantines, for his timber was already cutte and seasoned: he sent vnto Vera Cruz for sayles, tackle, nayles, roapes and other necessarie things, whereof there was store remaining of the furniture of the ships that were sunke. And hauing want of pitch, for in that countrey the Indians knew not what it ment, he commaunded certaine of his mariners to make the same in the high mountains where was store of pine trees, and not farre from the Citie.

The Vergantines that Cortes commaunded to be built, and the Spaniards which he had ioined together to besiege Mexico.



The same of prosperitie which Cortes enjoyed, was wonderfully blowne abroad with the newes of the imprisonment of Mutezuma, and the victory against Pamfilo de Naruac, where vpon there came many Spaniards by twentie and twentie in a companie from Cuba, Santo Domingo, and other Ilands. Although that iourney cost some their liues, for in the way they were murdered by those of Tepeacac and Xalacenco, as is before declared, yet notwithstanding there came

came many to Tlaxcallan, whereby his hoste was much encreased, beseeching him to make haste toward the warres.

It was not possible for Cortes to haue espies in Mexico, for the Tlaxcaltecas were knowen by their lippes, eares, and other tokens, and also they had in Mexico garde and great enquirie for that purpose, by reason whereof he could not certainly knowe what passed in those parties, according as he desired, for to haue prouided himself of things needefull: yet a Captaine whiche was taken prisoner in Huacacholla, certified of Cuetzalauac Lord of Iztacpalapan, newe to Mutezuma, was elected Emperour after his Uncles death, who was a wise and valiant man, and hee it was that had driue Cortes out of Mexico, who now had fortified Mexico with many bulwarkes and caues, and with many and sundry sortes of weapons, but chiefly very long Lances, yea and planted them in the ground to resist and molest the horsemen. He proclaimed pardon and free libertie, without paying any tribute for the space of one whole yere, yea and further as long as the warres should last, he promised also great rewarde to all them that shoulde kill any Christian, or expulse them from that Countrey. This was a policie whereby he gatte much credit among his vassals, yea and gaue them greates courage to play the valiant men. All this newes was found to be true, sauing onely Cuetzalauac was dead. And that Quahutimocein, newe also, as some do say, of Mutezuma, raygned at that time, who was a valiant man and a good warriour, as hereafter shalbe declared, who sente his messengers throught out his Empire, proclaiming as greates rewarde as Cuetzalauac had done before, declaring vnto them, that it was moze reason to serue him then straungers, and also to defende theyr olde auncient Religion, and not to credite suche Christians as woulde make

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themselues Lords of other mens gods, yea, & make them
 slaues and captiues as they had done in other places. Qua-
 hutimoc encouraged much his subiects, and kindled with
 his talke their wraath against the Spaniards : yet there
 were some prouinces that gaue no eare to his informati-
 on, but rather leaned to our side, or else medled with nei-
 ther side. Cortes seeing the effect of the matter, determi-
 ned forthwith to begin the warres : he mustered his men
 on Saint Steuens day, and found fortie hozsmen, and fife
 hundzeth and fortie footemen, whereof foure score were
 Hargabushiers, and Crossebow men, nine peces of Ar-
 dinance, and little poulder : his hozsmen bee diuided into
 foure squates, and his footemen into nine : he named and
 appoynted Captaines, and other officers for the hoste, vnto
 whom in generall he spake as followeth.

The exhortation of Cortez to

his Souldiers.

Myloning brethzen, I giue most hartie thanks vnto
 Iesu Christ, to see you now whole of your woundes
 and free from diseases : likewise I much reioyce to
 see you in god order trimly armed, yea and with such de-
 sire to set againe vpon Mexico, to reuenge the death of
 our fellowes, and to winne that great Citty, the which
 I trust in God shall bee brought to passe in short time,
 hauing the friendship of Tlaxcallan and other prouin-
 ces, who haue as great desire to see the ouerthrowe of
 the Mexicans, as we our selues, for therein they get both
 honoz, libertie and safegard of life. Also it is to be conside-
 red, that if the victozy should not be ours, they poze soules
 should be destroyed and remaine in perpetuall captiuitie.
 Also the Culhuacans doe abhorre them worse then vs, for
 recei-

receiuing vs into their houses and countrey: therefore
 sure I am that they will sticke vnto vs vnfaignedly. I
 muste needs confesse their vnfaigned friendship, for pre-
 sente workes doe testifie the same. They will not onely
 be a meane to bzing others their neighbours to our ser-
 uice, but also haue now in readinesse, 100000. men of war,
 to send with vs, besides a great nūber of Tamemes or car-
 riers to carrie al our pꝛouision. Yee also, are now the same
 which alwaies heretofore ye haue bene, for I as witnesse
 being your captaine, haue had the victoꝝy of many battails
 fighting with a, 100. yea and 200000. enemies: we got also
 by strength of arm many strong cities, yea and bꝛought in
 subiection many pꝛouinces, not being so many in number
 as we are now, for when we came firste into this coun-
 trey we were not so many as now presently we are. A-
 gaine in Mexico they feare our comming: it shoulde also be
 a blot vnto our honour that Quahutimoc shuld inherit the
 kingdome that cost our frieꝛ Mutezuma his life. Like wise
 I esteeme al that we haue done is nothing, if we win not
 Mexico, our victoꝝies shoulde also be sorrowfull if we re-
 nenge not the death of our deere fellowes. The chiefe and
 pꝛincipall cause of our comming into this countrey, was to
 set forth the faith of Iesu Christ, & therewithal doth follow
 honour and pꝛofit which seldome times do dwel together.
 In those fewe daies that we were in Mexico, we put
 downe the idols, we caused sacrifice and eating of mans
 flesh to be layde aside, and also in those dayes wee be-
 ganne to conuert some to the faith. It is not therefore
 now reason to leaue of so laudable an enterpise, so
 well begunne. Let vs now goe whither holy faith doth
 call vs, and where the sinnes of our enemies deserueth
 so great a punishment, and if yee well remember, the Ci-
 tizens of that citie were not content to murder such an in-
 finite number of men, women & children befoze the idols,

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in their filthie sacrifice, for honour of their Diuelithe Goddes, but also to eate their fleshe, a thing inhumaine, and much abhorred of God, and al good men both procure, and especially Christians, to defende and punish the suche odious customes.

Besides all this, they committe that horrible sinne for the which the five cities with Sodom were burned by fire from heauen: Why then what greater occasion shoulde any man wishe for in earth, then to abouish such wickednesse, and to plant among these bloudie tyrants the faith of Iesu Christ, publishing his holy gospel: Wherefore now, with ioyfull hearts lette vs procede to serue God, honour our nation, to enlarge our Princes dominions, and to enrich our selues with the goodly pray of Mexico, to morow God willing we will beginne the same.

All his men answered with cherefull countenance, that they were readie to depart when it pleased him, promising their faithful service vnto him. It shoulde seme the rather with the desire of that pleasure and great treasure which they had eight moneths enioyed before.

Cortes commanded to proclaime throughtout his army, certaine ordinaunces of warre for the good gouernement of his host, which he had witten among others: and were these that followeth:

That none shoulde blaspheme the holy name of Iesu.

That no Souldier shoulde fight with his fellowe.

That none shoulde play at any game, his horse nor armour.

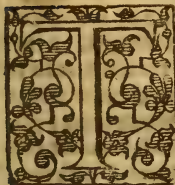
That none shoulde force any woman.

That none shoulde robbe or take any Indian captiue without his speciall licence and counsellors.

That none shoulde wrong or iniurie any Indian their frends: he also taxed vpon worke and apparell, for cause of the excessive prices that they were there solde for.

The

The exhortation made by Cortes to the Indians of Tlaxcallan.



The next day following, Cortes called befoze him all the Lordes, Captaines, and principall persons of Tlaxcallan, Huexocinco, Chololla, Chalco, and of other towns, who were there present at that time, saying as followeth. My lords and friends, you know the iourney which I haue in hand, to morrow

God willing I will depart to the war and siege of Mexico, and enter into the land of your enemies and mine: And the thing that now I doe require, and also pray, is, that you remaine faithful and constant in your promise made, as here vnto you haue done, and so I trust you will continue. And because I cannot bring so sone my purpose to passe according to your desire and mine, without the Wergantines which are now a making, and to bee placed in the lake of Mexico, therefore I pray you to saue these workmen which I leaue here, with such loue and friendship, as here tofoze ye haue done, and to giue them all things necessarie for their provision, and I doe faithfully promise to take away the yoke of bondage, which the inhabitants of Culhua haue laid vpon you, and also will obtaine of the Emperour great libertie and priuileages for you.

All the Indians shewed countenance of obedience, and the chiefeest Gentlemen answered in sepe wordes, saying, we will not onely fulfill your request, but also when your vessels are finished, we will bring them to Mexico, and we all in generall will goe with you, and truly serue you in your warres,

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How Cortes tooke Tezeuco.



Cortes departed from Tlaxcallan with his souldiers in good order, which was a goodly sight to beholde, for at that time he had eightie thousand men in his host, and the most of them armed after their manner, which made a galland shew: but Cortes for diuerse causes would not haue them all with him, untill the Bergantines were finished, and Mexico besieged, fearing want of vittaille for so great an army: yet notwithstanding he toke twenty thousand of them, besides the carriers, & that night came to Tetzimolaca, which standeth fife leagues from Tlaxcallan, and is a village appertaining to Huexocinco, where he was by the principall of the town well receiued. The next day he iourneyed foure leagues, into the territorie of Mexico, and there was lodged on the side of an hill, where many had perished colde, had it not bene for the store of woodde which they found there. In the morning he ascended upwards on this hill, and sent his scout of foure footemen, and foure horsemen to discover, who found the way stopped with great trees newly cut downe, and placed crossewise in the way: but they thinking that yet forwarde it was not so, proceeded forth as well as they might, till at length the let with great hugie trees was such, y they could passe no further, and with this newes were forced to returne, certifying Cortes that the horsemen could not passe that way in any wise. Cortes demanded of them, whether they had seene any people, they answered no, wherevpon he proceeded forward with all the horsemen, and a thousand footemen, commaunding all the residue of his armie to follow him with

with as much speede as might bee, so that with that companie which hee carried with him, hee made way, taking away the trees that were cutte downe to disturbe his passage : and in this order, in thost time passed his hoste, without any hurt or daunger, but with great paine and trauell, for certainly if the enemies had bene there to defend that passage, our men had not passed, for it was a verie euill way, and the enemies also thought the same to bee sure with the trees which were crossed the way, wherebpon they were carelesse of that place, and attended there comming in plaine ground : for from Tlaxcallan to Mexico are thre wayes, of the which Cortes chose the worst, imagining the thing that afterwards fell out, or else some hadde aduised him how that way was cleare from the enemies. And being past this crooked passage, they espied the lake of Mexico, and gaue vnto God most heartie thanks for the same, and there made a solemne vowe and promise, not to returne, vntill they had wonne Mexico, or lost their liues. They abode there and rested themselves, till all the whole armie were come together, to discede downe into the plaine, for nowe they might descrie the fires and beacons of their enemies in sundry places, and all those which hadde attended their comming by the other two wayes, were now gathered together, thinking to sette vpon them betwixt certaine Bridges, where a great companie abode, expecting their comming : but Cortes sent twentie Horsemen, who made way among them, and then followed the whole armie, who slue manie of them, without receyuing anie hurt. And in this order they came to Quahuatpec, which is of the iurisdiction of Tezcuco, where they abode that night, and in that place founde neyther manne nor woman : but not farre off was pitched the Campe of the Indians of Culhua, which

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which might be nere a hundred thousand men of warre, who were sent by the seniors of Mexico, and Texcoco, to encounter our armie, in consideration whereof, Cortes kept good watch with tenne Hoysmen, and all his Souldiers were warned to be in a readinesse at a call, if neede should happen.

The next day in the morning he departed from thence toward Tezcoco, which standeth thre leagues distant, and proceeding on their tourney, foure principall persons, inhabitants of Tezcoco, mette with them, bearing a rod of golde, with a little flagge, in token of peace, saying, that Coacuacoyozin their lord had sent them to desire him not to make any spoile in his countrey, and likewise, to offer his friendship, praying also, that it might please him with his whole armie to take his lodging in the Towne of Tezcoco, where he should be well receined. Cortes reioyced with this message, although hee suspected that it was a fained matter, but one of them hee knewe verie well, whome he saluted, saying: By comming is not to offend any, but rather to do you good. I will also receiue and hold your Lord for a friend, with condition, that hee doe make vnto mee restitution of the treasure which hee toke from fise and fortie Spaniards, and thre hundredeth Tlaxcaltecas, all which were by his commaundement also slaine of late dayes. They answered that Mutezuma caused them to be murdered, who had likewise taken the spoile, and that the Citizens of Tezcoco were not culpable in that sad, and with this answer they returned.

Cortes went forward on his way, and came to Quahuichan, and Huaxuta, which are subiects of Tezcoco, where he and all his host were plenteously prouided of al things necessarie, and thre w downe the Idols. This done, hee entred into the citie, where his lodging was prepared in a great house, sufficient for him and all the Spaniards, with

with many other the Indian friends. And because that at his first entry, he sawe neither women nor children, hee suspected some treason, and forthwith proclaimed, vpon paine of death, that none of his men should go out. The Spaniards began to triumph in their lodgings & chambers, placing every thing in good order. In the evening they went vp into the Zoties and galleries, to beholde the Citie, which is as bigge as Mexico, and there they sawe the greate number of Cittizens that fledde from thence with their stuffe, some towards the mountaines, and others to the water side to take boate, a thing straunge, to see the great haste and stirre to provide for themselves, at the least there were twentie thousand like boates (called Conoas) occupied, in carrying houthold stuffe and passengers. Cortez would faine haue remedied it, but that night was so nigh at hand, that hee could not. He would gladly also haue apprehended the Lord, but he was one of the first that fledde vnto Mexico. Cortes caused many of the Cittizens, to be called befoze him, and hauing in his company a yong gentleman of a noble house in that countrey, who was also last christned, and had to name Hernando Cortez, being his godfather, who loued him well, said vnto the citizens, that this new Christian lord, Don Hernando, was son vnto Zetzualpincintli their louing Lord, wherefoze he required them to make him their king, considering that Coacnacoyocin, was fled vnto the enemies, laying also befoze them his wicked fact in killing of Cacuzza his owne brother, only to put him from his inheritance and kingdom, through the enticement of Quahurimocin, a mortall enemy to the Spaniards. In this sort was Don Hernando elected king, and the same therof being blowne abroad, many Cittizens repaired home againe to visite their new Prince, so that in short space the Citie was as well replenished with people, as it was befoze, and being

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also well bled at the Spaniards hands, they serued them diligently in all things that they were commaunded. And Don Hernando abode euer after a faithfull friend vnto the Spaniards, and in short time learned the Spanish tong: and soon after came the inhabitants of Quahutichan, Huaxuta and Auentenco, to submit themselues, crauing pardon, if in any thing they had offended. Cortes pardoned them, and gaue them licence to depart home vnto their houses.

Quahutimoc, Coacnacoiijo, and other magistrates of Culhua sent to rayle vpon thole towne, for yelding themselues to the Christians, but they laide holde vppon the messengers, and bzought them vnto Cortez, of whome he enformed himsele of the state of Mexico, and sent them backe againe, requiring their Lords of peace and friendship: but it preuailed not, for they were fully armed for the warre.

At this instant certaine friendes of James Velasques went by and drowne the Campe, procuring secretly a mutenie among the souldiers, to haue them to returne to Cuba, and utterly to destroy Cortez his proceedings. This thing was not so secretly wzought, but that Cortez had knowledge, whereupon he apprehended the doers thereof, and by their confessions the matter did plaineely appeare, whereupon he condemned to death one Antonio de Villafania, who was naturall of Samora, and forthwith executed the sentence, wherewith the punishment and mutinie was ended, and ceased.

The Spaniards which were sacrificed
in Tezcucō.



Daily encreased Cortes in strength and reputation, and many townes as well of the parts of Culhua as others, came vnto his friendship & obedience. With in two dayes that Don Hernando was made King, came certain Gentlemen of Huaxuta and Quahutichan, to certifie vnto him, how all the power of the Mexicans was comming towards them, and to know if it were his pleasure, that they should carrie their wiues, children, and other goods into the Mountaines, or else to bring them where hee was, there feare was so great. Cortes made vnto them this answer, saying: be ye of good courage, and feare ye not. Also I pray you to commaunde your wiues and families to make no alteration, but rather quietly to abide in your houses. And concerning the enemies, I am glad of their comming, for ye shall see how I will deale with them. But the enemies wente not to Huaxuta, as it was thought: nevertheless Cortes hauing intelligence where they were, wente out to encounter them, with two pieces of Ordnance, twelue horsemen and two hundred Spaniards, with many Indians of Tlaxcallan. He fought with the enemy, and slew but few, for they fledde to the water. He burnt certaine townes where the Mexicans were wonte to succour themselves. The next day came the chiefeest men of thre townes to craue pardon, and to beseech him not to destroy them, promising neuer to harbour nor succour any of Culhua.

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The Mexicans hearing what these towne men pretended, with greate ire made a foule coxrection among them, as did appeare by many of them, which came vnto Cortes with broken heads, desiring reuengement.

The inhabitants of Chalco, sent also vnto him for succour, declaring that the Mexicans made great spoyle among them. But Cortes being ready to send for his Bergantines, could not relieue them all, and especially with Spaniards: wherefoze he remitted them to the helpe of the Tlaxcaltecas, and vnto them of Huexocinco, Chololla, Huacacholla and other friends, promising that shortly he would come himselfe. But this answer pleased him not, yet for the present neede, they required his letters to bee written vnto those townes. And being in this communication, there came messengers from Tlaxcallan, with newes, that the Bergantines were readie, and to know if he stood in neede of any succour, for of late, (quoth they) we haue seene many beacons, and fiers, which are greater tokens of warre, then heretofore hath bene seene.

There came at that time, a Spaniard also from Vera Cruz, with certaine newes, that there had arriued a ship, which had brought thirtie Souldiers besides the Harriers of the shippe, with eight horses, great store of powder, shotte, Crossebowes, and Harquebushes. The pleasant newes reioyced much our men, whereuppon Cortes sent forthwith to Tlaxcallan for the Bergantines, Gonzalo de Sandoual, with two hundreth Spaniardes, and fiftene horsemen, and commaunded that in their way they should burne and destroy the towne where the fortie sixe Spaniards, and thre hundreth Tlaxcaltecas were slaine, with five horses moe, when Mexico was last besieged: and that vilage is in the iurisdiction of Tezcuco, and bordereth vpon the territory of Tlaxcallan, yea, and for that purpose he would gladly haue corrected and punished the dwellers of

of Tezcucó, but time then permitted not the same, although they had deserued moze punishmēt then y others. For why? in their towne they were sacrificed and eaten, yea, and the wals painted with their blood, shewing moze ouer perfit tokens, how it was Spaniards blood. They pluckt off also the hozles skinnés, and tanned them in the haire, and afterwards hung them vp, with the hozleshoes in their great temple, and next vnto them the Spaniards garments, for a perpetuall memorie.

Sandoual went vnto that place with determinate intent to follow his commission, and also befoze he came to the place, he found wztittē in a house with a cole, these wordz: Here in this house was a prisoner the vnfortunat Iohn Iust who was a Gentleman, and one of the fine horsemen that were taken. But the people of that towne, being many, fled when they saw the Spaniards appoach néere vnto them. But Sandoual followed them, and slue manie of them: he tooke also prisoners many women and childzen, who yelded themselues vnto his mercy, and their bodies for slaues. He séeing so little resistance, and beholding the pitifull mone of the wiues for their husbantes, and the childzen for their fathers, had compassion on them, and would not destroy their towne, but rather caused the dwellers to come again, and pardoned them, with oath, that hereafter they shoulde serue them truely, and bee vnto them loyall friends. In this sort was the death of the Chzistians reuenged, yet Sandoual asked them howe they slue so manie Chzistians without resistance, marie (quoth they) we made an ambush in an euill and narrowe way, ascending vp a hill, and there as they went by one and one, we spoyled them, for there, neither hozles, nor other weapon could defend or helpe them, so that wee tooke them prisoners, & sent them to Tezcucó, where, as is befoze declared, they were sacrificed in the reuengement

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How the Vergantines were brought from
Tlaxcall to Tezcuco.



When the enemies which murthered the Spaniards, were reduced and chastened, Sandoual proceeded forward towarde Taxcallan, and at the bozder of that prouince, he met with the vergantines which were brought in pèces, as tables, planches, & nailes, with other furniture, the which eight thousand men carried vpon their backs.

There came also for their safeconduct twentie thousande men of warre, and a thousand Tamemez, who were the carriers of bittailles, and seruants. When the Spanish Carpenters sayde vnto Sandouall, that for as much as they were now come into the Countrey of enemies, it might please him to haue regard therevnto, for dangers that might happen: he allowed well their iudgement.

Now Chichimecatecl, being a principal man, and a valiant also, was capitaine of a thousand men, and desired to haue the vauntguard with the Tymber, and hauing had the same charge hitherto, it should bee an affront for him, to bee put from it, and gaue manie reasons in his behalfe. But notwithstanding his request, he was entreated to take the reregard. And that Tutupil and Teutecatl capitaines, verie principall gentlemen, should haue the vauntgart, with ten thousande men. In the middell were placed the Tamemez, and those that carried the forst, with all the apparell of the Vergantines. Before those two capitaines, went a hundred Spaniardes, and eight

the vvest India.

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eight horsemen, and behind and last, came Sandouall with all the rescue, and seven horsemen. But now although Chichimecatetl was offended, touching his first charge, now much more because the Spaniards were not in his companie, saying (quoth he) ye take mee not for valiant, or else not faithfull. That matter being pacified, and every thing in good order, they took their way towards Tezcucuo, with a marnellous noise, crying, Christians, Christians, Tlaxcallan, Tlaxcallan, and Spaine.

On the fourth day they entred into Tezcucuo, in verie good order, with the sounde of drummes, shailles, and other like instrumentes of Musicke, and agaynst their entrie into the Citie, they put on all their bzaurie of cloathes, and busshes of feathers, which truely was a gallant sight: they were fife houres in entring into the towne, keeping their array.

Cortes came forth to receiue them, and gaue great thanks vnto the Gentlemen, and all the companie, and prouided them of good lodgings and entertaynement.

Of the Docke or trench which was made to lanch, the Verganties.



Any Prouinces of India, came to submitte and offer theyr service vnto Cortes, some for feare of destruction, and others for the hatred which they bare to the Mexicans: So that now Cortez was strong both with Spaniards and Indians. Also the Spanishe Captaine of Segura, sent a Letter to Cortes, the which letter hee had receyued of another

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another Spaniard, the effect therof was as followeth. Noble gentlemen, diuerſe times I haue written vnto you, but as yet I neuer receiued anſwere, nor yet now doe I thinke otherwiſe, notwithstanding yee ſhall vnderſtand, that the Culhuacans haue done much hurte in this countrey, but we remaine with victorie. This prouince deſireth to ſee and know Captain Cortes, ſo to render themſelues vnto him, and nowe they ſtand in neede of our nation, wherefore it may pleaſe you to ſend vnto vs thirty Spaniards.

Cortes, anſwered the letter in ſuch ſort, that he then preſently coulde not ſende the thing deſired, ſo that he was readie to the ſiege of Mexico: notwithstanding he gaue them great thanks, with hope ſhortlie to ſee them. He that writte the former letter, was one of the Spaniards that Cortes hadde ſente to the prouince of Chinantla, a yere paſte, to enquire of the ſecretes of that place, and to ſeeke ſo gold and other commodities. And if it ſo happened, that the Lord of that place made that Spaniard a Captaine, againſt the Culhuacans the enemies, ſo Mutezuma made them warre being farre from Mexico, becauſe they had entertained the Spaniards. But through the induſtrie of that Chriſtian, the Lord abode alwaies with victorie, and hauing vnderſtanding that ſome of his nation were in Tepeacac, he wrote ſo often as the letter declareth, but none of them came to their handes, but only this laſt letter: our men reioyced much to heare that the Spaniards were aliue, and alſo the Lord of Chinantla to be their friende: likewise they marvelled much howe they had eſcaped, ſo at the time that they fledde from Mexico, all other Spaniards that were abiding in the Mines and other Lordſhippes, were ſlaine by the Indians.

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Cortes made his preparation for the siege of Mexico with all haste, and furnished him with scalling ladders, and other necessities, fitte for such a purpose. His Vergantines being rayled, and thoroughly ended, he made a fluce or trench of halfe a league of length, twelue fote broad and more, and two fadome in depth. This worke was fittie dayes a doing, although there were foure hundred thousand men daily working, truly a famous worke and worthy of memory.

The Vergantines were calked with Towe and cotton woll, and for want of talloyle and oyle, they were (as some reporte,) driuen to take mans grease, not that they slewe men for that effect, but of those whiche were slaine in the warres. The Indians who were cruell and bloudy butchers, vsing sacrifice, would in this sort open the dead body, and take out the grease. The Vergantines being lanchted, Cortez mustered his men, and founde nine hundred Spaniards, of the which were 86. Horsemen, and a hundred and eightene with Crossebowes and Hargabushes, and all the residue had sundry weapons, as swords, daggers, Targets, Lances, and Halbertes. Also they had for armour, corselets, coates of maille, and Jackes. They had moreouer three great peces of cast yron, fiftene small peces of brasse, and tenne hundred waighte of powder, with foure of shotte. All that ye haue heard, was the promise that Cortes had for the siege of Mexico, the strongest and greatest Citie in all India and newe world. In each Vergantine he placed a pece of brasse. He proclaimed againe all the institutions and ordinances of the warre, praying and commaunding that they might be well and faithfully obserued, and said, Brethren and my fellows, now do you see our vessels readie, yea and also you see remember howe troublesome a thing it hath bene to bring them hether with the cost and sweate

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of our friendes, and one of the chiefeſt hopes that I haue ſhortly to winne Mexico are theſe veſſels, for with them we will burne all their Canoaſ, or elſe we will ſo locke them vp, that they ſhall not help them, whereby we will annoy our enimie as much that way, as your army ſhall do by land. I haue alſo a hundred thouſand men of warre my friends to beſeige this Citie, who are (as you know) the valianteſt men in al theſe partes. You haue alſo your vittailles provided abundantly, and that which now impoſeth, is, that you play the menne, as heretofore you haue done, and moſt humbly to pray vnto God for victorie, for that this warre is his.

The order of the hoſt and army of Cortez
for to beſeige Mexico.

The next day following, Cortez ſent vnto the prouinces of Tlaxcallan, Huexocinco, Chololla, Chal, and other Townes, warning them within tenne dayes to come vnto Tezcucio, with their armour, weapon, and other neceſſaries, for the ſeige of Mexico. He certified them alſo, how the Tergantines were readie with all other furnituro accordingly, and the Spaniardes were very deſirous to loſe no time, wherefoze they meante not to delay their preſence, farther then the day appointed.

The Indian hearing this newes, and becauſe they would not come too late to the beginning of the aſſaulte, came incontinent, and entred into Tezcucio in good order of warre, aboue ſixtie thouſand men, gallantly trimmed after their uſe and cuſtome. Cortez friendly welcommed them, and provided them lodgings accordingly.

On Wednesday, all the Spaniardes came into the fieldes, whereas Cortez made three chiefe Captaines, among

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mong whom he deuised his whole army. Vnto Pedro de Aluarado the first Captaine, he appointed thirtie horsemen, and a hundred and seuentie footemen of the Spaniards, two peeces of ordnance, and thirtie thousande Indians, commaunding him to campe in Tlacopan. Vnto Cristoual de Olid the seconde Captaine, he gaue thre and thirtie Horsemen, and a hundred and eightene footemen of the mpanish nation, two peeces of ordnance, and thirtie thousand Indians, and appointed him to pitch his camp in Culhuacan. To Gonsalo de Sádoual who was the third Captaine, he gaue thre and twentie Horsemen, and 160. footemen, two peeces of Ordnance, and 40000. Indians, with commission to chuse a place to pitch his Campe.

In euery Vergantine he planted a peece of ordnance, sixe bargabushes, or crosse bowes, and 13. Spaniards, men most fittest for that purpose. He appointed also Captaines for eache, and himselfe for general, whereof some of the chiefest of his companie began to murmure that wente by lande, thinking that they had ben in greater daunger, wherefore they required him to goe with the maine battell, and not by water. Cortes little esteemed their words, for although it is moze daunger in the water then in the land, yet it did moze importe to haue greater care in the warres by water, then on the land, because his men had bene in the one, and not in the other.

On the tenth of May, Aluarado, and Cristoual de Olid departed, and went that night to a Towne called Acolman, where was betweene them greate discorde touching their lodgings, yea and if Cortes had not sente to take up the matter, much mischief had ensued. The next day they lodged in Xolotepec, which was not inhabited. The thirde daye they came vnto Tlacopan, which was also as all the Townes of the lake, without people, there they were lodged in the Lordes house of the Towne.

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The Tlaxcaltecas began to view Mexico by the calley, and fought with their enemies, until the night made them to cease.

On the thirteenth of May, Cristoual de Olid came to Chapultepec, and brake the conduites of swete water, wherby Mexico was destitute of the same, being the conduit y did provide all the Citie. Pedro de Aluorado with his company procured to amende all the broken places of the calley, that the horsemen might haue free passage, and hauing muche to do in these affaires, he spentethree dayes, and fighting with many enemies, some of his men were hurt, and many Indian friends slaine. Aluorado abode in Tlacopan with his army, and Cristoual de Olid retired to Culhuacan with his men, according to the instruction receiued from Cortez, and fortified themselves in the Lordes houses of the Towne, and every daye skirmished with the enemies, and some went to the Townes nere at hande, and brought Centli, fruite, and other provision. In this businesse they occupied themselves a whole weeke.

The Battaile and victory of the Vergantines
against the Canoas.



He newe King Quahutimoc hauing intelligence how Cortes had launched his Vergantines and so mighty a power to besiege Mexico, entred into counsell with the chiefest peres of his Realme. Some were of opinion, and did prouoke him to the wars, considering their great multitude of people, and fortitude of the Citie.

Others were of opinion, who tended muche the common weale, that no Spaniarde that shoulde happen to
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be taken prisoner should be sacrificed, but rather to be preserved for conclusion of peace if neede should so require. And finally some said, that they should demaund of their God, what was best to doe.

The King that inclined himselfe more to peace than to warre, saide that he would remitte the matter to the iudgement of the idolles, and that he would aduise them what answer should be made vnto him: but in heart he desired to come to some honest order and agreement with Cortes, fearing the thing that after did ensue. But seeing his Counsell and subiects so determined to war, he commaunded foure Spaniards which he had prisoners in a Cage, to be sacrificed vnto the Goddes of warre, with a great number more of Indians.

He spake to the Diuell in the image of Virzilopuchtli, A Diuinish
who answered him, that he should not feare the Spaniards ^{sentence.} being but fewe, nor yet those which were comen to helpe them, for that they should not long abide in the siege, commaunding him to goe forth and to encounter them without feare, for he would helpe them, and kil his enemies. With this answer of the diuill, Quahutimoc commaunded forthwith to breake downe the bridges, watch the Citie, make bulwarkes, and to arme five thousande boates, and saide vnto the Spaniards, that the Goddes would be pleased with the sacrifice of their bodies, the Snakes filled with their blood, and the Tigres relieved with their flesh, they saide also to the Indians of Tlaxcallan, ah ye Cuckold knaues, slaues & traitors to your gods, and king, will you not repent the wickednesse which ye haue committed agaynst your maisters, therefore shall you nowe die an euill death, for either you shall die with hunger, or else vpon the knife: and then will we eat your flesh, and make thereof a soleinne banquet, as the like hath here tofore neuer been scene, and in token thereof, hold
take

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take these armes and legges which we thzowe vnto you of your owne men, which we haue now sacrificed for the obtaining of victorie. And after these warres we will go vnto your Contrey, and spoile your towne, and leave no memorie of your bloud or generation. The Tlaxcaltecas laughed at their madde talke, and sayd, that it should be better for them to yelde, and submitte themselves to Cortes his mercy, and if not, yet it were moze honozable to fight then to bragge, willing them to come out into the field. And had them assuredly beleue, that the ende of all their knauerie was at hand: it was a woyle to heare and see the bragges and crakes on both sides. Cortes hearing of all these matters, sent Sandoual to take Iztacpalapan, and he embarked himselfe to meete him at that place.

Sandoual combatted the towne on the one side, and the townes men and people with feare fledde vnto Mexico, on the other side by water: he burned the towne. Cortes came at that time to a strong rocke like a tower, situated in the water, where many men of Culhua were, who seeing them appzoch with their Mergantines, set their beacons on fire, and thzew downe vpon them stones and shot off their arrowes. Cortes went a shoze with a hundzeth and fiftie men, and combatted the Fort, till at length hee swanne the battlement, which was the Idians best defence, and with much adoe hee came to the top, and there fought vntill he had not left one aliue, sauing women and childzen. It was a fayze victorie, although fine and twentie Spaniards were hurt and wounded, yet the fort was strong, and the ouerthrow a great discouraging of the enemye.

At this instant were so many beacons and other fires made rounde about the lake, and vpon the hilles, that all seemed a light fire. And also the Mexicans hearing that the Mergantines were comming, they came out in their boates,

boates, with fūe hundzeth Gentlemen which came to see such newe kinde of Vesselles, and to proue what they were, being a thing of so great a fame. Cortes embarked himselfe with the spoile of the fozt, and commaunded his men to abide all together for the better resistance, and because the enemies should thinke that they feared, whereupon they might without any good order giue the onset vpon the Christians, and so to fall suddenly into the snare. But it folloved, that when they came within shot of the Spaniards Ordnance, they stayed abiding more company, but in short space there came so many Canoas, that it seemed a wonder to behold: They made such a terrible noise with their voices, drummes, Snail shells, and other like instruments of warre, that they could not heare one another, with such great crakes and braggies, as they had done in time past.

And being both parties in a readinesse to fight, there happened such a poupe winde to the Vergantines which came from the shore, that it seemed marvellous. Cortes the praying God, commaunded all his captaines to giue the onset altogether, & not to ceasse vntill the enemies should be giuen to retire into Mexico, for that it was the pleasure of God to sende vnto them that prosperous winde in token of victorie. This talke ended, they beganne to set vpon the enemy, who seeing the Vergantines come with such luckie wind, yea & such a sight as the like vnto them had not bene seene, they beganne to flie with such great haste, that they spoiled, brake, and sunke many of them, and such as stode to defende themselves were slaine, so that this battaile was sone ended. They pursued them two leagues, vntill they hadde locked them vp in the water breches of Mexico, and take many Lordes and Gentlemen prisoners. And the key of all these wars consisted in this victorie, for our men remained for lordes of
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the whole lake, and the enemy with great feare and losse: they had not bene so sone spoyled, but that there were so many of them, who disturbed one another. But when Aluado, and Cristoual de Olid, saw the fortunat successe of Cortes by water, they enured the calusey with their armie, and tooke certaine bridges and bulwarks, and draue the Indians from them, with all their force and strength. But with the helpe of the Bergantines which came to them, the Indians were driuen to runne a whole league vpon the calusey, and where they found the calusey broke, they procured to leape ouer, and so fell into the midst.

Cortes proceeded forwards, and finding no Canoas, he landed vpon the calusey that cometh from Iztacpalapan, with thirtie men, and combatted two towres of idoles which were walled with wall of lime and stone: it was the same place wher Mutezuma receiued Cortes. He wan those towres in short time, although they were defended with all possibilitie: he bnschipped three peeces of ordnance to scoure the calusey, which was full of enemies: at the first shot, he did great hurt among them, & being the night at hande, they ceased on both sides for that day. And although Cortes had determined otherwise with his Captaines, yet he abode there that night, and sent to the campe of Gonfalo de Sandaua, for powder and fittie men, with halfe the companie of Indians of Culhuacan.

How Cortes besieged Mexico.



The night of Cortes his abiding there, was perillous, for he had not aboute a hundreth men in his companie, and about midnight set vpon him many Mexicans, both by water and lande, although they accustomed not to fight in the night, but the Bergantines

times made them some to retire.

In the morning came unto Cortez from Cristoual de Olid, eight horsemen, and foure score footemen. The Mexicans combatted the Toltuers, where Cortes was lodged, who incontinent came forth, and draue them along the calsey, until he had wonne another bzidge & a bulwarke, and made a great spoile among them, with the ordinaunce and horseme, pursuing them to the vtmost houses of the Citie: and because many of the Canoas which were on the other side of the Calsey galled Cortes and his menne, he bzake downe so muche of the calsey, that he might well passe some of his Wergantines to the other side, the which with few encounters shutte vp the Canoas on that side, within the succour of Mexico: and in this wise he remained Lord ouer bothe the lakes.

The next day Sandaual departed from Izracapalapon toward Culhuacan, and in this way he tooke and spoiled a little Citie that standeth in the lake, because they came out to resist him. Cortes sente unto him two Wergantines to passe his men where the calsey was bzoken. Sandaual left his company with Cristoual de Olid, & wet to Cortes with tenne horsemen, and when he came he found him in fight with the enemies, and he alighting from his horse, an Indian perced him through the foote with a dart. Many Spaniards were hurte that day, but their grieve was well reuenged, for from that day forward the Indians courage was muche abated. With the paines, labour, and bidoz, already obtained, Cortes might now at ease pitch his campe at his owne pleasure where he would, and also provide his army of victuals: sixe dayes he ceased not skirmishing, and the Wergantines likewise found out channels that they might goe rounde aboute the Citie, yea and twente spoiling and burning many houses within the Suburbes.

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Mexico was besieged in foure places, although at the first they determined but three. Cortes was placed betwixt the two Towers of the calise: Pedro de Aluarado in Tlacopan: Cristoual de Olid in Culhuacan: Gonfalo de Sandoval in Xaltoca: for they had aduice that the same way they would flee out of the Citie, seeing themselves in any daunger. It would not haue grieued Cortes to haue left a passage for the enimie, but onely because they should not profit themselves vpon the land, and provide y^e Citie that way of armour and victual, yea, he also thought to preuaill against his enimies better vpon the lande then vpon the water. And againe according to the olde prouerbe, When thine enimie flieth make him a bridge of siluer.

The first skirmish within the citie of

Mexico.

Cortes pretended to enter the Citie, and to gette what he could, and also to see what stomacke the enimie had: he sent to aduise his captaines, that eche of them shoulde doe the like, requiring them to send vnto him some of their horsemen and souldiers. He gaue speciall commaundement to Cristoual de Olid to haue regard to the keeping of his calsey, and to forsee that the inhabitants of Xochmilco, Culhuacan, Iztacpalapan, Vitzilapuchli, Mexicalcenco, Cuertlauac, and other cities thereabouts come not that way behind them and vnwares. He commaunded that the Mergantines shoulde goe along the calsey on both the sides, if any waide shoulde happen. Cortes early in the morning came out of his campe with 200. Spaniards, and 80000. Indian friends: they had gone but a small space, when they met with their enimies well armed, keeping the gappe where the calsey was broke, which broken place mought be a speares length, and as much in depth.

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depth. They fought with them, who for a great space defended themselves behinde a bulwarke, but in fine, he wanne the passage, and followed them vnto the entrance of the citie, where was a Tower, and at the foote thereof a bridge drawen, where a good streame of water passed. This place was very strong to combat, yea and fearefull to behold the passage where the draw bridge was. They ceased not shooting of arrowes and hurling of stones, so that our men coulde not come nere, untill the Tergantines came, and by meanes of them they wanne that fort with lesser paines then they imagined: for without the Tergantines it had not bene possible to haue entred the Citie.

The enemies being now fled from that holde, our men alanded there, with the Indian friendes, who incontinent dammed vp the broken place with stones and earth. The Spaniards of the vanguard, tooke another bulwarke, whiche was planted in the largest and sayrest stræte of the Citie, and pursued the enemy to another draw bridge, which remained, but with one posse or beame, vpon the which many of the Indians passed ouer, and then tooke the beame awayne and abode to defende the place: but when our men approached & sawe how the matter went, Cortes commaunded two peeces of Ordnance to be brought; with the which, and with their Harquebushes, they did great hurt among the Mexicans, who began to fainte, and lose their courage, the which being vnderstande, certaine Spaniards swam ouer where the draw bridge was, with their weapons in their mouths. But when the enemy sawe them passe ouer, they began, as well from that place as from the house tops, forties and bulwarkes, which they had defended for the space of two houres, to flie. Cortes and his whole army being passed ouer, he commaunded to damme vp that broken place of the drawe bridge,

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with earth, rubbish, and stones, and proceeding forward, they came to an other bridge which had no bulwarke, but was neare one of the chiefest places of the Cittie, and there placed a peece of Ordnance wherewith they did great hurt, and seeing them now past all the bridges, they determined to enter into the heart of the Cittie. When the Mexicans perceined their determination, they began to prouide euery one for himselfe, for some fled one way, and some another, but the most went to the great temple of Idols. The Spaniards and their friends pursued after them, and among the throng got into the Temple, where they slew many, and at length they went vp into the high Tower, and there threw downe the Idols, among whom they made a great spoyle.

Quahutimoc beganne to reprehend his men for their cowardie and flight, who gathered themselues together, and considering their oversight, and that there were no horses, began a freshe to sette vpon the Spanyards, and with force and strength dyaue them out of all the circuite of the Temple, and made them trust to their sate. But when Cortes sawe his men come flying, hee caused them to returne and to shewe face vnto the enemye, declaring vnto them how shamefull a thing it was to flie: But seeing the strength and multitude of their enemies, they had no other remedie but onely to retire to the greate market place, yea & from thence also they were expelled, and lost a peece of their Ordnance. But being now in this extremitie, there came three horsemen who played the valiant men, and made way through the troupe of enemies, who at the sight of the horses began to flie, and our men to follow with such heart and courage, that in short time they wanne the great Temple againe: then came other sixe horsemen who ioyned with the other three, and lay in ambush, where they slew 30. Mexicans. The day being now farre

farre spent, and the night at hand, Cortez commanded his army to retire, and they obeying his commandement, had not so sone turned their backs, but an infinite number of enemies were at their heeles, who if it had not bene for the horsemen, had slaine many Spanyards, for they came vp on them like rauening dogs without any feare, yet with the succour of the horsemen, the enemy was put againe to flight, and our men burned many houses, to auoyd at their next comming the daunger of stones which were thzobne from their toppes. The other Captaines, who were Sandoual and Aluarado, fought valiantly on the other side of the Citie.

The great hurt and damage in the houses
of Mexico with fire.



In this meane while, Don Hernando of Tezcuco, wente throughout his Lordship, to allure his bassall to the seruice and friendship of Cortes, according to his former promise: and whether it were seeing the Spanyards prosperitie in the Siege of Mexico, or otherwise, he brought almost the whole

prouince of Culhuacan, which is vnder the gouernment of Tezcuco, with six or seuen of his owne brethren, for moze he could not, although he had moze the a hundred brethren, as hereafter shalbe declared. One of them named Ixtlixchilh, being a valiant yong man, of the age of four & twentie yeares, he appointed general Captain ouer fiftie thousand men of war, wel armed & trimmed according to their fashion. Cortes did frendly receiue & welcom them, giuing them great thanks for their aide and good wills. Of these new come men, he toke into his own host thirty thousand,

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and diuided the residue equally among the other Captaines.

This was a sorrowfull newes to the *Mexicans*, to heare of the succour which Don Hernando hadde sent to serue Cortes, and with holden the same from them, yea and also among them were come kinsmen, bryethren, and fathers, to many of them which were in *Mexico*, in the seruice of Quahutimoc.

Two dayes after that these men were come, there came also men of Xochmilco, and certaine husbandmen of the Mountains, who spake the Othomielch speech, beseeching Cortes to pardon their long tarrying, offering also both men and vittailles for the siege. Cortes was pleased with their comming and gentle offer, for they being his friends, he was assured of them of Culhuacan, and said vnto them, within these thre daies (God willing) I will combate the citie, therefore against that time I pray you prepare your selues accordingly, and therein shall I know whether you be my friends or no: and with this answer they departed, promising to fulfill his request, as they did indeed. This done, he sent thre Wergantines to Sandoual, and other thre to Alvarado, for to disturbe any succour that might come from the land to the Citie, and like wise to defende and aide the Spaniards at all times, when they would land vpon the catowsey, to combate the Citie, for he wel vnder stood how profitable those vessels would be nere vnto the bridges.

The captaines of the Wergantines ceased not night and day to runne the coast and Townes of the lake, where they toke many boates from the enemies, laden with men and vittaille, and permitted none to come into the Citie, nor yet any to come out.

The day appointed to the enemies for the combate, Cortes made his prayers vnto God, & then enjoined each
 Capitaine

Captaine what he should do, and came forth with twentie horsemen, three hundred Spaniards, and a great number of Indians, with their peeces of Ordnance, and where in three or foure dayes before they had not skirmished, time serued the Mexicans at wil to open al those places which were dammed vp before, and also to build better Bulwarkes then those which were throtwne downe, attending with that horrible noise accustomed. But when they saw they were on each side, their ioy was turned into sorrow, and began to faint, the which our men considered well, and therewith alanded themselves vpon the calusey, and won the bulwarke and the brydge. Our army proceeding forthward, set vpon the enemies, vntill they came to another brydge, the which was likewise wonne in short time, and this pursued from brydge to brydge, alwayes fighting, vntill they had driuen them from the calusey and streetes.

Cortez for his part lost no time, for he with ten thousand Indians laboured to damme vp againe the fluces and broken places of the brydges, making the way plains both for Horsemen and footemen: it was so much to doe, that all those ten thousand Indians were occupied therein from the morning vntill evening.

The other Spaniards and Indian friends skirmished continually, and slue many of their enemies. Likewise the Horsemen secured the streetes, that the enemies were forced to lock them vp in their houses and temples. It was a notable thing to see how our Indians played the men that day agaynst the Citizens: sometimes they would challenge them the field: other times they would conuite them to supper, and shew vnto them legs, armes, and other peeces of mans flesh, saying, beholde your owne flesh which shal serue for our supper and breakfast, and to morrow we will come for more, therefore lie not,
you

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you are valiant fellows, yet it were better for you to die fighting then with hunger. And after all this speech, every one of them called upon the name of his owne Towne with a loude voyce, setting fire vpon their houses. The Mexicans were replenished with sorrow, to see themselves so afflicted with Spaniards, but yet their sorrowe was so muche the greater, to heare their owne bassalles so raile against them, saying and crying at their owne doores, Victory, victory, Tlaxcallan, Chalcho, Xochmilco, and other Townes: the eating of their fleshe græued them not, for they did the like.

Cortes seeing the Mexicans so stout and hard harted, with full determination either to defende themselves or else to dye, thereupon he be thought himselfe vpon two things, the one was, that he should not obtaine the treasure which he had sene in the time of Mutezuma: the other was, that they gaue him occasion totally to destroy the Citie. Both these things græued him much, but especially the destruction of the Citie. He imagined with himselfe what hee might doe, to bring them to acknowledge their error, and the hurt that might fall vpon them, and for these considerations hee pluckt downe their Towers, and brake their Idolles. He burned also the great house wherein hee was lodged before, and the house of foule which was nere at hand. There was not one Spanyard who had sene that magnificall building before, but lamented sore the sight: but to agræue the Citizens, it was commaunded to be burned. There was neuer Mexican, that thought any humaine force, how much lesse so fewe Spanyards, should haue entred into Mexico in despite of them all, and to set fire vpon their principallest edifices within the citie. While this house was a burning, Cortes gathered his men, and retired to his Campe. The Mexicans would faine haue remedied the fire, but it was

too late, and seeing our men retire, they folowed with their noyse accustomed, and slew some of our men, who were laden with the spoyle, and came behinde the rest. The horsemen relieued our men, and caused the enemy to retire, in such wise, that befoze night all our men were in safetie and the enemies in their houses, the one sort full of sorow, and the others wearied with fight & travell. The slaughter was great that day, but the burning and spoyle of houses was greater, for besides those which we have spoken of, the Tergantines did the like where they went, and the other Captaines also were not idle where they were appointed.

Things that happened to Pedro de Aluarado, through his bolde attempt.



Pedro de Aluarado, would passe his army to the Market place of Tlalasco, for he toke much paine, and stode in perill, inasseining the bridges which he had gotten, hauing his sort almost a league from thence. And againe, he being a man of a haughtie stomacke, thinking as well to get honour as his

Generall, and like wise being procured by his company, who said, that it were a shame for them if Cortes should winne that Market place, being moze nearer vnto them, then vnto him: whereupon he determined to winne those bridges which as yet were vnwonne, and to place himself in the Market place. He proceeded with all his army vntill they came to another broken byidge, which was fiftie paces of length, and two fadome deepe, the which with the helpe of the Tergantines, he wanne in short space, and gaue order to certaine of his men to damme it by substantiall

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cially, and hee himselſe purſued his enemies, with ſittle Spaniards. But when the Citizens ſawe ſo ſew in number, and all ſootmen, (for the horſes could not paſſe the fluce ſo ſone,) they came vpon them ſo ſodeinly and fiercely, that they made our men to turne their backes, and truſt to their legges; yea and our men fell into the water, they knew not which way. They ſlew many of our Indians, and foure Spaniards, who forthwith they ſacrificed, and ate their fleſh in the open ſight of all the army.

Aluaro ſawe his owne folly, in not beleeuing Cortez, who had alwaies forewarned him, not to proceed forward, untill he had made the way ſure behinde him: but Aluaro his Counſellers patie their counſel with liſe, Cortez ſorrowed for the ſame, for the like had happened vnto him, if he had giuen credite to their counſell. But as a prudent Captaine, he conſidered the matter better, for euery houſe was then an Iſland, the calſey broken in many places, and the ioties or houſe toppes beſet with ſtones, for theſe and ſuch like places ſlew Quahuimoc. Cortez wente to ſee where Aluaro had pitched his Camp, and alſo to rebuke him for that which was paſt, and to aduiſe him what he ſhould do: But when he came and found him ſo far with in the libertie of the Cittie, and the dangerous places which had paſſed, he did highly commend his valiant and good ſeruiſe: he alſo communed with him of many things concerning the ſiege, and then returned to his owne camp.

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The triumph and sacrifice which the Mexi-
cans made for their victorie.



Ortes delaied the time, to pitche his Campe in the Market place of Mexico, although daily his men entred and skirmished within the Cittie, for the causes befoze alleaged, and likewise to see if Quahutimoc would yeld himself. And also the entrie could not bee but very dangerous, for the great multi-

tude of enemies that filled by the streets.

All his company Spaniards ioyntly, with the Kings Treasurer, seeing the determination of Cortes, and the hurt already receined, besought and also required him to passe his Campe vnto the Market place: who answered them, that they had spoken like valiaunt men, but as yet (quoth he) it is not time conuenient, and we ought to consider better of the matter: for why? the enemies are fully determined to ende their liues in defence of that place. But his menne replied so muche, that hee was compelled againe to graunt their request, and proclaimed the entrance for the next day following. He wrote also in his Letters to Gonfalo de Sandoual, and to Pedro de Aluaredo, the instructions of the thinges that they shoulde doe, whiche was in effect, to Sandoual, that hee shoulde remoue his Campe with all his sardage, as though hee woulde retire and flie, and that vpon the calley hee shoulde haue tenne hoysmen in ambushe, behind certain houses, to the intent that when the Citizens shoulde espie them flie, and would pursue after, then to passe betwixt them and home with the laide hoysmen, and

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after the hurt done among them, in this sort, that then he with all his army should come where Pedro de Aluvarado abode, with other tenne horsemen, a hundred fote men, and the shauie of Mergantines, and leauing with him his men, should then take thre of the Mergantines, and to procure to winne that broken bidge, where Aluvarado of late receiued the soyle: and if he fortun'd to winne that place, that then he should damme it by, and make it sure, befoze he passed any further: and the like order he gaue vnto him for all other broken places that he should passe.

Vnto Aluvarado he gaue commission, that he should passe as farre into the Citie as he might possible, requiring him also to sende vnto him eighthe Spaniards. He also appointed the other seauen Mergantines, to passe into both the lakes, with thre thousande Canoas. He diuided likewise all his army into thre companies, because they had thre waies to enter into the Citie. By the one of these waies or strates, entred the Treasurer and Auditor, with tenantie Spaniards, twentie thousande Indians, eight horsemen, twelue labourers with pinceros and haches, and many other idle fellows; to carry earth and stones, and to fill vp the broken places, and to make the way plaine.

The seconde strate he commended to George de Aluvarado and Andres de Tapia, with eighthe Spaniards, tenne thousand Indians, two paces of Ordnance, and eight horsemen. Cortes himselfe took the third way, with a great number of friends, and a hundred Spaniards fote men, of the which were twentie and with Crossbowes and Pargubulhes, and commanded his horsemen which were eight in number, to abide there behind, and not to follow after, until he should send for them. In this order, and all at one instant, they entred the Citie, by the
ing

ing the hearts of valiant men, greatly annoyng the enemies, and wane many bridges, but when they came nere vnto the towne house called Tlanquizeli, there gathered together such a number of the Indian friends, who befoze their eyes, scaled, entred, and robbed their houses, that they thought assuredly, that the same day the citie had bin wonne. Cortez commaunded that they should procede no further, saying, that they had done sufficiently for that day, for also he feared afterclappes. He likewise demaunded whether all the broken bridges were made sure, in the which (quoth he) consisteth the perill and victorie. But those that went with the Treasurer, following victorie and spoile, had left a bridge not well dammed vp, but verie holloie and false, the which was of twelue paces broad, and two fadome in depth. When Cortes was aduertised herooft, he went thither to remedie the same, but hee was no sooner come, when he sawe his men flying, and leaping into the water, with feare of the cruell enemies, which followed, who leapt after them into the water, to kill them. There came also along the cattseymanie Indian boats of enemies, who took many of the Indian friends and Spaniards aliue. Then Cortes and other fifteen persons, which were with him, ferued for no other purpose but to helpe out of the water those that were fallen, some came wounded, and others halie drownded, and without armour: yea and the multitude of enemies so beset Cortes and his fifteen Spaniards, who were helping these men, and so occupied in the same, that they had no regarde to their owne perill. Whereupon certain Mexicans laid hand vpon Cortes, who truly they had caried away if it had not bin for one Francisco de Olea his serant, who cutt off at one blowe the armes of them that had holde of him, and he by the enemies was immediatelyaine, so that hee died to save his masters life. Then came Antonio de Quinonez

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captaine of the guard, who caught Cortes by the arme, and by force pluckt him out of the throng of enimies, with whom valiantly he fought. But then with the same that Cortez was prisoner, came many spaniards, among whom was one horseman, who made some room, but in short space they thrust him through the throte with a lance, and made him to retire. The fight ceased a little, and Cortez had a horse brought vnto him, on the which he lightlye amounted, and gathering his men together, came to the streete of Tlacopan, which was large and faire. There died Guzman his Chamberlaine, giuing a horse vnto his maister, whose death was much lamented among them all, for he was a man valiant, honeste, and welbeloued. There fel also into the water two horses, the one was saued, but the other was killed by the Indians. As the Treasurer and his company were Combatting a bulwarke, the enimies threw out of a window three Spaniards heads vnto them, saying, the like they would doe with their heads, if they went not from thence the soner. They seeing this sight, and likewise considered the great hurte and spoile made among them, began to retire by little and little.

The Mexican Priests went by into the Towers of Tlatelulco, and made their fiers in chafing dishes, and put therevnto the swete gum of Copalli in token of victorie, and forthwith stripped fiftie Spaniards captiues as naked as they were borne, and with their fine razors opened them in the breaſtes, and pluckt out their hartes for an offering to the Idols, and sprinkled their blood in the ayre. Our men seeing before their eyes the dolefull sight, would fain haue gone to reuenge the cruel custome. But as time then required, they had inough to doe to put themselues in safetie, through the greates troupe of Indians which came vpon them, who now feared neither horse

horse nor sword. This day as ye haue heard, were foure Spaniards sacrificed, and Cortes wounded in one of his legges, and thirtie more of his men: they lost a peece of Ordnance, and foure horses. Also that day was slaine a houe two thousand Indian friends, and many Canoes lost, and the Tlargaatines in great daunger, and the captaine and maister of one of them were wounded. Whereof the captaine died within eight dayes, the same day were also slaine foure of Aluado his men, that day was an unfortunate or dismall day, and the night heauy, sorowfull, and replenished with lamentable griefe among the Spaniards and their friends. On the other side, the Mexicans triumphed with ioy, and made great bonefires, blew their hornes, strooke vp their drummes, daunced, banqueted, and dranke themselves drunke: they also opened their strates, and bridges, as they were befoze, and placed their scout and watch about the Citie. And as soone as it was day, the king Quehucimoc, sent two Christians heads, and two horse heads into all the comercanes there about, to signifie their victorie, and to require them to forsake the Christians friendship, promising in short space to make the like ende of all those that remained, and deliuer the countrey from war. These things encouraged some prouinces to take arimour agaynst Cortes, being his allied friends, as Mahualco, and Cuixco. This newes was soone blowne abroade into many prouinces, where vppon our men feared rebellion among their newe friends, yea and mutinie in their owne campe, but it pleased God that it fell out other wise. The next day Cortes came out againe to fight, to the wee face to the enemies, but he turned againe from the first bridge, without doing any great act.

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The determination of Cortez to destroy the
Citie of Mexico.



Chichimecath, a noble man of Tlaxcallan, (who had brought the Timber of the Bergantines from whence it was brought, and was placed in the companie of Aluárado, at the beginning of the siege of Mexico,) seeing that the Spaniards fought not as they were wont to doe, hee alone with the men of his owne Countrey, went forth to combat the Citie, being a thing which tofore hee had not attempted, gave assault against those which defended a certaine bridge, and with great noise cried, and named his Citie and kinage, and in short space wanne the bridge, where hee left foure hundred Archers, and followed after the enemye, who of industrie fledde, thinking to take him at his returne, and at length the enemye returned upon him, where they made a faire skirmish, for the fight was rashall. There were many hurt and slaine on both sides, so that with the dead carcases they slipped at will. But they thought to overthrow him at the bridge, not knowing of the foure hundred Archers which were there to attend Chichimecaths coming, by means of whome, hee passed at pleasure, to the great griefe of the Mexicans, yea, and remained not a little amazed to see the valour and bolde attempt of the Tlaxcaltecas.

The Spaniards likewise highly commended the fact, to where our me combated not as they were wont to doe,
the

the Mexicans imagined that the cause was colwarlike, in-
firmities, or want of victuals: whereupon one daye at the
sunne rising, they set upon Alvarado his Campe, which
being espied by the watch, they began to crie, arme, arme,
who came forth as well footemen as horsemen, and put the
to flight, at which retire many of the Mexicans were drow-
ned, and others sore hurt and wounded. Then said the
Mexicans, that they desired to talke with Cortes, who
came vnto a drawe bridge to knowe what they would
haue, vnto whom sometime they said, that peace was their
request, and other times they demanded truce, but final-
ly required that the Spaniards should depart from that
Countrey. All this policie was but to feele what strength
and courage our menne had, and to haue truce for a certain
time, for to prouide them of such necessaries as they wan-
ted, for their determinate purpose was, to die in the de-
fence of their countrey and religion. Cortes answered,
that truce was not conuenient for either partie, but peace
was launcable at all times, the which for his part, although
he hadde beseged the Citie, should not be denied: there-
fore he willed them to wey his plentiful estate of victuals,
and their owne needs and necessitie of the same. They
being in this communication with their interpreters, ap-
peared an auncient olde man on the top of the bulwarke,
who in the sighte of them all, pluckt bread out of his sac-
chell pece by pece, and began to eate, giuing them to vn-
derstand, that they stood in no neede of victuals, and so
made an ende of their talke.

The siege of this Citie seemed a long time to Cortes,
for in nere fiftie dayes that he had begun the same, yet
could not he bring his desire to passe, yea and much mar-
uelled, that the enimies could endure so long a season with
dayly skirmishing, and also how they refused peace and
concord, knowing how many thousands of them had ben

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slaine, and ended their miserable lines with hunger.

Yet once again he sent this last message vnto them, that if they would not yelde themselves, then he hauing them enuironed by land and water, would slea them all, and not permit any kinde of victuall to come vnto them, so that their extremitie should be so great, that they should eate one another: their answer was, that first the Spaniards should taste of the same cup, so that the threatening encreased their courages, and occupied themselves in carrying stones to the Market place, and many other streets, to stoppe the way against the Horses and their maisters.

Cortes, although it græued him to destroy totally so beautifull a Citie, yet he determined to bring all the houses of the streets that he should winne, to be equall with the ground, and to stop with them the Channells of water. He communed the matter with his Captaines, who liked well of his intent, although it was a troublesome thing. He also aduertised the Gentlemen Indians his friends of his determination, who highly commended his deuice.

Cortes seeing the towardnesse of all his army, he called and prepared all his labourers, with their pikeaxes and shouels, so that in these affaires, and in setting his men in good order, he spent foure dayes, and then he began to combat the streets, which goeth directly to the Market place, then faintly the Citizens desired peace. Cortes staied, and asked for their King: they answered, that they had sent for him, whereupon Cortes tarried an houre, and then they began to reuile him, and to throw stones, and shot at him. The Spaniards seeing this, gaue the onset, and wane a fort, and came into the chiefe place of the Citie. They cleansed the streets of the stones which they had laide to disturbe their passage, and stopped so by the water street in that place, in such wise, that neuer after it was opened againe, and threw downe all the houses, making the

the entrance into the Citie an open plaine high way, and then retired to their Campe. Also five dayes arow they did the like, without receiuing any hurt, saving the last day two hozes were hurt.

The next day Cortes laid an ambush with fiftie Hozs, men, and sent befoze him the Tergantines, but he himself with thirtie hozemen, abode in certaine great houses in the Market place. They fought that day in many places of the citie, and at the retire, one shot off a handgun, which was the token that those which lay in ambush shuld come forth. The enemies followed our men, that seemed to flee with marvellous courage. But they were not so sone passed the snare, when Cortes came forth with his thirtie hozemen, saying, Upon them, upon them: By this onely meane were slaine aboue five hundred Mexicans, besides the prisoners.

Our Indian friends had a good supper that night with mans flesh, which as yet they would not be perswaded to leaue. Certaine Spaniards went vp into a Tower of Idols, and there opened a sepulchre, where they found five hundred Castellines in golde: With this overthrowe the Mexicans remained in such feare, that all their threatings and triumphs were turned into mourning: and after when they sawe our men retire, they would not follow them, fearing the like daunger, so that this was a meane, the soner to win Mexico.

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The hunger and infirmitie which the Mexicans suffered with great courage.



Who poore soules who were bered with hunger, came in the night season out of the citie vnto Cortes his Camp, who certified, how the Citizens were in greate necessitie, and so many dead with hunger and sicknesse, that there were heapes of dead bodies in the houses, only to keepe close their ex-treame miserie: and said also, that in the night season manie came out to fishe betwene the houses with feare of the Wergantines, and others came out to seeke for wodde, hearbes, and rootes to eate.

Cortes hearing these newes, determined to knowe the troth thereof, so that the nexte night he commaunded the Wergantines to goe round about the Citie, and he himselfe with fiftene Horsemen, a hundred footemen, and manie Indian friends, placed themselues betwixt certaine houses, with order of his espies, to aduertise him what they shoulde see. It was no sooner day, but manie poore folke came out to seeke for woode, and whtn Cortez had intelligence thereof, he made a greate slaughter among them, whereas at that time of vnarmed men, women, and children, were slaine to the number of eight hundred: and the Wergantines on their side made another spoile. The pittifull noyse being heard into the Citie, the Citizens were astoined, and knew not what to doe, fearing the like ambushe that they had scene and fealt the day befoze, and also wondered, that at such an houre not accustomed, the Spaniards were so nigh. The next day following, being S. James his euen, Cortez entred againe into the Citie, according as he had done befoze, and wanne the streete of Tlacopan, where he burned the riche and faire houses

A cruell fact
of Cortez.

the vvest India.

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of king Quahutimoc, which were motted rounde about: so that now of foure parts of the citie, thre parts were won, and the Spaniards might safely passe from Cortes his Campe, to the Campe of Aluarado, by reason that all the houses were burned, and beaten downe plaine with the ground.

But yet the poore Mexicans would say to the Indians of Tlaxcallan, goe to, goe to, make hast, burne and destroy these houses, for time will come that ye shall build them againe at your owne cost. For if we haue victorie, then shall ye build them for vs, and if we be overcome, then shall ye build them for these straungers.

A true prophesie.

Within foure dayes after, Cortes entred the Citie againe, and also Aluarado on his side, who to shew his haughty stomack, laboured all that was possible to get two Tons of the Temple of Tlatelulco, the which at the length he wane, although he lost thre horses in the combat.

The next day following, the hoysmen walked by and downe in the greate Market place at pleasure, the poore Mexicans beholding that sorrowfull sight fro their houses. And as the Spaniards went walking in the Citie, they founde heapes of dead bodies in the houses, strates, and in the water: they found also the barke of trees and rotes gnawen by the hungrie creatures, and the men so leane and yellow, that it was a pitifull sight to beholde. Cortes yet againe required them to yeelde, and they although they were so leane of bodie, were strong in heart, and answered that he should not speake of any friendshippe, nor yet hope of their spoyle, for when no fortune would fauoure them, then they would either burne their treasure, or throwe it into the lake, where they should neuer profite thereby, and that they would fight while one alone should remaine alive. At Cortes his next entry into the Citie, he founde the strates full of women, children, olde

An extreame penurie.

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folke, and many miserable sicke persons which were perishing for want of foode.

Cortes commanded that none of his army shoulde doe any hurt vnto such miserable creatures. The principall folke who were whole and sound, they stode in their Zooties or house tops, without weapon, and clothed in mantels. It was thought that they kept a certaine holy day, peace was againe offered, but they aunswered with dissimulation. The next day following Cortes required Alvarado on his side to combat a stréete of 1000. houses that was not yet won, and that he would do the like on the other side: for a litle space the Citizens defended these lues, but their defence endured not, but were giuen to flie, being not able to resist the force of their contraries. So that the Spanish armie wanne also that stréete, and aue 12000. Citizens, the murther was so great because the Indian friends would shew no mercy or compassion vpon them, although they were required to the contrary. So that now the Mexicans hauing lost this stréete also, the houses that were not beaten down could scarcely hold the people that were alieue, the stréetes also being so full of dead carcases and sicke bodiees, that our men could not passe, but must néesses tread vpon them. Cortes desirous to see what remained of the Citie to win, went vp into a high tower, and hauing well beuewed the Citie, he iudged that of eight parts one remained yet to win. And y next day following he assaulted the same, with speciall commandement giuen to his army, not to kill any but onely such as should resist.

The sorrowfull Citizens bewailing their vnfortunate fate and destiny, besought the Spaniards to make an end, and to kill them all out of hande. Then certaine of the hoymen called Cortes in great hast, who went vnto them incontinent, hoping of some agrément of peace: and standing at the bynne of the water néere vnto a drawe bridge,

byldge, the Mexicanis said, Oh Captaine Cortes, confide-
ring that thou art the child of the Sun, why doest thou not
entreate the Sunne thy father, to make an ende of vs: oh
thou Sunne that canst go round about the wo^{ld} in a day
and a night, we pray thee make an end of vs, and take vs
out of this miserable life, for we desire death to go and rest
with our God Quetcauath who tarieth for vs. After these
speeches they made a lamentable crie, calling vpon their
Goddess with loude voyces. Cortes answered what he
thought good, but yet could not perswade them to yelde,
truly it was a pitifull sight to behold.

A sorrowfull
tale.

The imprisonment of Quahutemoc.

Cortes seeing the great extremitie that those poore
wretched people were in, thinking now that they
woulde yelde vnto him, therevpon he spake to an
Uncle of Don Hernando de Tezcuco, who was ta-
ken prisoner three dayes before, whom he desired to goe to
the king, and treat of peace: this Gentleman refused the
message, knowing the determinate will of Quahutemoc,
but through much entreatie he granted to his request. So
the next day following Cortes entered into the Citie, and
sent that Gentleman, and certaine Spaniards before
him. The Indian garde of that stræte receiued him with
the honoz which vnto such a noble man did appertaine. He
proceeded forthward toward the king, & being come where
he was, he declared vnto him his embassage. When Qua-
hutemoc had heard his tale, he was so moued with ire and
choler, that forthwith he commanded him to be sacrificed,
and gaue the Spaniards for their answer blowes with
stones, staves and arrowes, saying also that they desired
death, and no peace, and fought so stoutly that day, that
they slue many of our men, and one horse. Likewise on
their side many were slaine.

An euill re-
ward.

The

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The next day Cortes entred the Citie againe, but hee sought not, hoping then that they would submitte themselves, but yet the Citizens had no such thought. He came nere vnto a certaine bulwarke on horsebacke, and spake vnto certaine Gentlemen with whome he was acquainted, saying, that now within a short space he could make an ende of their finall destruction, but yet of mere compassion he wished it not, for the loue which he bare vnto them, so that they would in time render themselves: wherefore (quoth he) entreat ye the king to doe the same, and in so doing ye shall be well vsed, and haue vittalles sufficient. The Gentlemen hearing these words, fell on weeping, and answered, that now they knew well their error, and felt their losse and destruction, notwithstanding they were bound to obey their king and Gods. But yet (quoth they) abide a while, and we wil certifie Quahu- timoc what you haue said, & in short space they went and returned againe, saying that the next day without fayle their Lord would come and talke with him in the market place. With this answer Cortes returned to his campe, and thought at their meeting to conclude an honourable peace. So against the next day he caused a Canapie and chaire of estate to be set in the market place, according to the Mexican vse, and also a dinner to be prepared. The day following came Cortes at the houre appointed, with many of his men armed, but the king came not: neuertheless he sent five noble men to treat of the matter, excusing the kind, saying he was not well at ease. Cortes welcomed those Gentlemen, and was glad of their comming, hoping thereby to conclude and make some good ende. And when they had dined and well refreshed their hungry bodies, Cortes gaue them vittuals, and desired them to returne againe to to the king, and to declare vnto him that without his presence the conclusion could not bee certaine.

certaine). They went and returned againe within two houres, and brought vnto Cortes certaine matels made of cotten woll, very good & well wrought, with answer that the king would not come in any wise, both for shame and feare. And the next day these messengers came again, saying that the king would come to the place appointed. But yet he came not; although Cortes attended his coming more then foure houres, who seeing the mickery, he forthwith sente Sandbual with his Mergantines one way, and he himselte went another, combatting the houses & forttes that yet remained, where he founde small resistance, so that he might doe what he pleased. There was that day slaine and taken prisoners aboue 40000. persons, and then he retired to his campe. The lamentable crie and mourning of the women and childzen would haue made a stony hart relent, the stench also of the dead bodie was wonderful noisome. That night Cortes purposed to make an end the next day of the wars, and Quahutimoc pretended to flie, and for that purpose had imbarqued himselte in a Canoa of twelue oars. When the day appeared, Cortes with his men, and foure peeces of ordinance, came to the corner where those that yet remained were shut vp, as cattell in a pounde. He gaue order to Sandoyal and Aluorado what they should do, which was, to be ready with their Mergantines, and to watche the coming out of the Canoas which were hidden betwixt certaine houses, and especially to haue regard vnto the kings person, and not to hurte him, but to take him alieue. He commaunded the residue of his men to force the Mexican boates to goe out, and he himselte went vp into a Tower, enquiring for the king, and there founde Xihuacoa, gouernour and Captaine generall of the Citie, who would in no wise yelde himselte. Then came out of the Citie a greate multitude of olde folkes, men, women and childze, to take boate. The throng

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was so great with hault to enter the Canoa, that many by that meanes were drownded in the lake. Cortes required his men not to kill those miserable creatures: But yet he could not stay the Indians his friends, who sue & sacrificed aboue fiftene thousand. After this, there was a great rumoz among the common people, that the king would flie, making a piteous mone, and saying that they sorrowfull creatures knew not whither to go: But yet procuring to go into the Canoa, which were so full that there was no roome for them, by reason thereof many were drownded.

The men of warre stood in the house toppes and jotties beholding their perdition. All the nobilitie of Mexico were embarked with the King. Then Cortes gaue signe with the shot of a handgun, that his Captaines should be in a readinesse, so that in short space they wanne fully and wholly the great citie of Mexico. The Bergantines likewise brake in among the flete of boates, without any resistance, and every one sought where he might best succour himselfe, the Royall Standart was beaten downe. Garcia Holguin, who was Captaine of a Bergantine, had espied a great Canoa of twentie ores deepe, laden with men. And one of his prisoners saide vnto him, that the king went in that great Canoa. Holguin being glad of the newes, gaue chase to that Canoa and overtooke him. In his fellowship he had three Crossebowe men. And when Quahutimoc who stood on the puppe of the Canoa readie to fight, salve those bowes ready bent, and many drawen swordes, he yelded himselfe, declaring that he was the king. Garcia Holguin being a glad man of his prisoner, toke and carried him vnto Cortes, who receiued him reuerently. When Quahutimoc came neare vnto him, he laide his hand vpon Cortes his dagger, saying, I haue done all my possibilitie to defend me and mine, according to my dutie, hoping not to haue come to this estate & place where now I stand: And considering

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considering that you may do with me what you please, I beseech you to kill me, and that is my only request. Cortes comforted him with faire words, giuing him hope of life and senioꝝ, and toke him vp into a zotie, requiring him to commaund his subiects to yeld and render themselves: he obeyed his request. At that time there was about thꝛe score and ten thousand persons, who in seeing their Prince, thꝛe downe their weapons, and submitted themselves.

The taking of Mexico.

In the order before declared, Iuanne Hernando Cortez the famous Citie of Mexico, on Tuesday being the thirteenth of August, An. 1521. in remembrance whereof, and of the great victoꝝ, euery yeare on that day they make a sumptuous feast and solemne procession, wherein is carried the Standart royall, with the which the Cittie was wonne. The siege endured thꝛe moneths, and had there in 200000. Indians, 900. Spaniards, 80. hozes, 17. pꝛeces of Ordnance, 13. Bergantines, and 6000. Canaos. In this siege were slaine fiftie Spaniards and fife hozes, and no great number of the Indians their friends. There was slaine on the contrary side a hundꝛeth thousand, and some affirme many moe: but I speak not of them that died with hunger and pestilence.

At the defence of the citie were all the nobilitie, by reason whereof many were slaine. The multitude of people was great, who eate litle, dranke salt water, and slept among the dead bodies, where was a horrible stench: for these causes the disease of pestilence fell among them, and thereof died an infinite number. Whereupon is to be considered, their stedfast determination, for although they were afflicted with such hunger, that they were driven to eate boughes, ryndes of trees, and to drinke salt

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water, yet would they not yelde themselves. But at the laste they woulde haue submitted them, and then their king Quahutimoc woulde not, because at the beginning they refused his will and counsell, and also with their generall deaths, should appeare no cowardise, for they kept the dead bodies in their houses to keepe that secreete from their enemies. Here also is to be noted, that although the Mexicans ate mans flesh, yet they ate none of their owne Citie or friends, as some doe thinke: for if they had, there woulde not so many haue died with hunger. The Mexican woman were highly commended, not only because they abode with their husbands and fathers, but also for the greates paines they toke with the sicke and wounded persons, yea and also they laboured in making slings, cutting stones fitte for the same, and throwing stones from the zoties, for therein they did as much harte as their men. The Citie was yelde to the spoils, and the Spaniards toke the Golde, Plate and feathers, the Indian friends had all the rest of cloth and other stuffe.

Cortes commaunded great bonfires to be made in token of victorie, and also to mortifie the horrible stench of the dead bodies, whome he likewise commaunded to be buried, and some of the prisoners menne and women he caused to be marked in the face, for the Kings slaues, and pardoned all the rest. He commaunded the Giergantes to be brought ashore, and appointed one Villa Fuerte, with 30. men to guard the sear, lest the Mexicans should by fire or otherwise destroy them. In this businesse he occupied himself foure daies, then remoued his camp to Culhuacan, where he rendred hartie thanks to all the Gentlemen his friends, promising to gratifie their good and faithfull seruice, desiring them to departe home to their houses, considering the warre was at an ende, where upon

wherupon they departed almost all in generall, both rich and poore with the spoile of Mexico, and also to remaine in the fauour and grace of Cortez.

Maruellous signes and tokens of the destruction
of Mexico.



At long befoze Hernado Cortes came vnto the new Spaine, did many nights after the midnight appeare in the air, and in the same port and place where Cortes entered into that land, great lightning of fire, which amounted by ward, and suddenly boded away. The Mexicans at that time sawe flames of fire toward the Orient, where now Vera Crux standeth, with a great and thicke smoke, that seemed to touch the heauen and earth: this sight was fearefull vnto them.

They also sawe the figures of armed men fight in the air one with another, a new and strange sight for them, and a thing that filled their heads with imaginations: for when there was a propheticke spoken of among them, holwe that white men with beards should come and rule their kingdom in the tyme of Mutezuma, the Lords of Teczucoc and Tlacopan were much amazed, saying, that y sword which Mutezuma had, was the armes of those folke, whose figures they had sene in the aire, with their apparell and attyre. Mutezuma had much ado to pacifie them, saying that the weapon and apparell was of his forefathers, and because they should see the troth thereof, he gaue them the sword, and willed them to breake it if they could, and they prouing to breake the same, and could not, they maruelled thereat, and also were resolved of their opinions.

It shoulde seme that a little befoze these things hap-

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pened, some of *Mutezuma* his subjects found a Chest of apparell, and a sword in it on the Sea coast, which came floating out of some shippe that had wacked there about, and brought it to their prince. Others affirme, that the cause of alteration among the Noble men, was, when they saw the sword and apparell that Cortes had sent vnto *Mutezuma* by *Teudilli*, seeing it a thing so like the attire of the figures which they had sene in the ayre, but howsoeuer it was, they beleued with these new tokens, that their kingdome should haue an end, when they sawe those strangers come into their countrey.

The same yeare that Cortes came into Mexico, appeared a vision vnto a certaine *Malli*, which is to say, a slave taken in the warres to be sacrificed, who at the time of his death and sacrifice, bewailed his sorrowfull end, calling vpon the God of heauen, who at that instant saw in spirit a vision, and heard a voyce, bidding him not to feare that death, for the God whom hee called vpon would haue mercie vpon him, willing him also to say vnto the priests and ministers of the *Idolles*, that their wicked sacrifice and bloodshedding was nere at an ende, and that there was a people at hand, that should take away all that wicked and abhominable religion.

This *Malli* was sacrificed in the middess of the market place of *Tlatchulco*, where at this day is the place of execution.

They remembred, & noted well the words of the *Malli*, and the vision which they called a breath from heauen.

The earth also brake open, out of the which issued a marvellous great streame of water, with manie great fishes, which they bled and helde for a strange prognostication.

The Mexicans did report, that when on a time *Mutezuma* came triumphantly with victorie of *Xochnuxco*,
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said vnto the Lord of Culhuacan: *Polo* (quoth he) *Mexico* is strong & inuincible, for I haue in subiection *Xochmexco*, and other prouinces, so that now I am without feare of any enemye. The Lord of Culhuacan answered, saying, trust not god king too much, for one force forceth another, with the which answer, *Mutezumas* was not a little offended. But when *Cortes* had taken them both prisoners, then he called to remembrance the former talk, and held that saying for a prophesie.

The building vp againe of Mexico.



Cortes pretended to reedifie againe the Citie of *Mexico*, not onely for the situation and maiestie, but also for the name and great fame thereof, and also to build vp that which hee had beaten downe, by reason whereof he travelled to make this Citie greater, better, and to bee the moze replenished

with people. He named and appoynted Judges, Aldermen, Attourneys, Towne clearke, Potaries, Sea-ueners, and Sergeants, with all other officers, necessarie for the common weale of a Citie. Hee diuided the Citie among the Conquerors, hauing first taken out places for Churches, market places, Towne house, and other necessarie plottes to build houses, profitable for the common weale. He also separated the dwellings of the Spaniards from the Indians, so that the water passeth and maketh diuision betwixt them. He procured many Indians to come to the building of the Citie, for auoyding charges, although therein he had somewhat to do, by reason that many kinemen of *Quahatimoc* were not as yet come vnder obedience.

He

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He made Lord of Tezcuco, Don Carolus Izdilxuchitl, by the consent of the citie, in place of Don Hernando his brother, who was deceased, and commaunded manie of his bassals to labour in the woꝝkes, because they were Carpenters, masons, and builders of houses. He promised also to them that were naturals of the Citie of Mexico, plottes to build vpon, inheritance, freedome, and other liberties, and the like vnto all those that would come and inhabite there, which was a meane to allure manie thither. He set also at libertie Xihuaco the generall Captaine, and made him chiefe ouer the Indians in the Citie, vnto whome he gaue a whole stræte. He gaue likewise another stræte to Don Pedro Mutezuma, who was son to Mutezuma the king. All this was done to winne the fauour of the people. He made other Gentlemen Seniors of little Ilands, and strætes to build vpon, and to inhabite, and in this oꝝder the whole situation was repaired, and the woꝝke began with great ioy and diligence: But when the same was blowne abroade, that Mexico should be built againe, it was a wonder to see the people that resorted thither, hearing of libertie and freedome, the number was so great, that in a whole league compasse was nothing but people both men and women. They laboured soze, and ate little, by reason whereof, many sickned, and pestilence followed, whereof dyed an infinite number. Their paines was great, for they bare on their backes, and drew after them, stones, earth, timber, lime, brick, and all other things necessarie in this soꝝt, and by little and little, Mexico was built againe with a hundred thousand houses, moze stronger and better then the olde building was. The Spaniards also built their houses after the Spanish fashion. Corres built his house vpon the plotte where Mutezuma his house stode, which renteth now pearely foure thousand duckets a yeare. Pamfilo de Naruac

Naruaez accused him for the same, saying, that he hadde
 Ipyled the woddess and mountaines, and spent seauen
 thousand beames of Cedar trées in the worke of his owne
 house. The number seemeth moze héere then there, for
 where all the Mountaines are replenished with Cedar
 trées, it is a small matter. There are Cardines in Tez-
 cuco, that haue a thousand Cedar trées for walles and cir-
 cuite, yea and there are Cedar trées of a hundred & twenty
 fote long, and twelue fote in compasse from ende to ende.
 They built faire dockes couered ouer with arches for the
 Bergantines, whereas (for a perpetuall memorie) all the
 thirténe Bergantines do remaine vntill this day. They
 dammed vp the strétes of water, where now faire hou-
 ses stand, so that Mexico is not as it was wont to be, yea
 and since the yéere of 1524. the lake decreaseth, and some-
 time casteth out a vapour of stench, but otherwise it is
 a wholesome and temperate dwelling, by reason of the
 Mountaines that standeth round about it, and well pro-
 uided through the fertillitie of the Countrey, and com-
 moditie of y^e lake, so that now is Mexico one of the grea-
 test Cities in the world, and the most noble in all India,
 as well in armes as policie. There are at the least two
 thousande Citizens, that haue each of them his horse in
 his stable, with riche furniture for them. There is also
 great contractation, and all sortes of occupations. All o
 a money house, where money is daily coyned: a sayze
 schoule, which the Emperour Don Antonio de Mendosa cau-
 sed to be made. There is a greate difference betwixte
 an inhabitant of Mexico, and a Conqueroz, for a Conque-
 roz is a name of hono^r, and hath landes and rentes, and
 the inhabitaunt o^r onely dweller, payeth rente for his
 house. When this Citie was a building, and not through-
 ly furnished, Cortes came from Culhuacan to dwell there.
 The fame of Cortes, and maiestie of Mexico, was blowen

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abroad into farre pꝛouinces, by meanes whereof, it is now so replenished, as I haue before declared, yea and hath so many Spaniards, who haue cōquered aboute 400. leagues of land, being all gouerned by the princely seat of Mexico.

How the Emperour sent to take account of Cortes of his gouernment in the new Spaine,



In these daies Cortes was the man of the greatest name of all the Spanish nation, although many had defamed him, & especially Pamfilo de Naruaez, who was in the Court of Spaine accusing him. And where of long time the Councell of India had receiued no letters from him, they suspected, yea and beloued, what soeuer euill was spoken of him. Wherevpon they pꝛouided the Admirall Don Diego Colon, for gouernour of Mexico, who at that time went to lawe with the king, pretending the said office and many others, with condition to carrie at his owne cost a thousand men to apprehend Cortes. They pꝛouided also for Gouernors of Panuco, one Nonio de Gufman, and Simon de Alcazaua portingall, for gouernour of Honduras. To kinde moze this mischiese, and to set this busines forward, one Iohn de Ribera, the Attourney of Cortes, was a fitte and an earnest instrument against his maister, and the cause was, for falling out with Martin Cortes, father vnto Hernando Cortes, about foure thousand Duckets which Cortes had sent by him to his father, which money the said Ribera his Attourney kept to his owne vse, and therefore raised many slanders against his maister, yea and credit was giuen to his tales, but on a night he had a morsell of bacon giuen him vpon a skaffolde, where with hee was choked in the

The reward
of a knaue.

the chiefe time of his businesse. These new officers, and their provisions, were not so secretly obteyned, but the matter was so secretly talked in the Court, which at that time was abiding in the Citie of Toledo, and the proceedings seeme not iust vnto the friends of Cortes. The Comendator Pedro de Pina, opened the matter to the Licenciat Nouez, and vnto father Melgareto, wherbyon they reclaimed of the Councels determination, beseeching them to stay for a season, to see what newes should come from Mexico. Also the Duke of Bejar tendred the cause of Hernando Cortes, for that Cortes by promise of faith and troth was assured in marriage to his brothers daughter, named the Ladie Iane de Zuniga, who appeased the Emperour his anger, and the said Duke became suretie to answer in all causes for him.

The matter standing in this estate, there arrived in Spaine, Diego de Zoto, with a whole Coluerin made of silver, & 70000. castlins in gold, the newes whereof was blowne ouer all Spaine. And to say the troth, this present was the cause that Cortes was not put out of his office, but a Judge of resitice was sent thither to take an account of him. Now a wise and a learned man was sought for that purpose, yea such a one as could rule the matter, for some souldiers are oftentimes unmanerly: wherbyon they thought the Licenciat, Lewes Ponce de Leon, a fitte man, who had bin Lieutenant to Don Martin de Cordova, Earle of Alcaudete, and chiefe gouernor of the Citie of Toledo. This Licenciat with power sufficient, was sent vnto the new Spaine, who carried in his company as assistant, the batchler Marcus de Aguilar, who had ruled in time past, in a worshopfull office of Justice in the Ilande of Santo Domingo.

With prosperous weather they departed from Spaine, and in shorte time arrived at Vera Crux,

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Cortez having newes of their arriuall by softe postes within two dayes. And vppon Midsummer day came letters to Cortes from the Licenciate Ponce, with another letter from the Emperour, whereby he vnderstood the cause of their coming. He returned backe incontinent an answer, and desired to know which way he would come to Mexico, either by the way inhabited, or else the other way which is nearer. The Licenciate replied, that he would for a while abide in Vera Cruz, to refresh himselfe, beinge seasicke, and a man he had not here tofore at any time passed the seas, thinking that Cortes meante to haue done iustice on certain offenders, yea & also to haue taken him by the way: wherefore he suspected, that Cortes had sent, because he would knowe which way he meant to come, wherevpon he secretly tooke post horse, with certaine Gentlemen, and other religious persons that came in his company, & passed through the Townes, although it was the farther way, and made suche hast, that in five dayes he came to Iztacpallapan, refusing the entertainment and prouision of meate and lodging that Cortez had prepared by his Gentlemen, that wet both the waies to meete him.

In Iztacpallapā they receiued him with great feast and mafeſtie, but after dinner, the Licenciate fell a vomiting, and the most of his companie, and after the vomite, they fell into a ſire. They thoughte that certaine hearbes was the cause thereof, which were in a diſhe of curdes. The Licenciate was ſomewhat grieued of the curdes, and tooke the diſhe, and offered it to father Thomas Ortiz, no (quoth the ſteward) his reuerence ſhall haue another diſhe, no (quoth father Ortiz) I will none of theſe, no; yet of anye other, of whiche wordes there were afterwardeſ Verſes made, ſuſpecting ſome thing of the curdes: but truly there was no hurte, or anye euill thing putte in them, (as hereafter ſhall

(shall be declared) for the Comendador, Procano, who was then chiefe Sheriffe, did eate of all those dishes, yea in the same dish that the Licenciat eate of, who neither vomited nor yet receiued any hurt or alteration. But I think, that they comming hote, weary and hungry, did eate too much, and drank also colde water, whereby their stomackes renolled, and thereof followed the fire with vomit. On the behalfe of Cortes, there was presented to the Licenciat a rich present, but he refused it.

Cortes with all the flower of Gentlemen in Mexico, came to receiue him, and giuing him the right hand, they went together untill they came to Saint Frances Abbey, where after their praiers made, Cortes demaunded to see the Kings provisions, who answered, that the next day he would shew them vnto him: then they accompanied him to his house, where he was well lodged.

The nexte day following, all the magistrates of the Citie met the Licenciat in the Cathedrall Church, and by acte, befoze the Potary, he presented his authoritie from the Emperour. He tooke the Scares of Justice from the Judges and Sargeants, and incontinent restored them againe, and saide with gentle speech, this roode of the Senioz Gouvernour, I will haue for my selfe. Cortes with all the other Magistrates, kissed the Emperours letters, and put them vpon the crown of their heads, in token of great obedience, saying, that they would obserue and obey all that was therein contained, as the commaundement of their King and Lord, requiring the same to be set downe by act and testimony.

After these things done, they proclaimed the residence and account of iustice, of Hernando Cortez, to the intent that all persons who coulde accuse him of any vnrightfull dealing, should come & make their complaint, and to haue remedy for the same. There should you then see the firre

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and take among them, euery officer fearing his owne cause, with desire to see the ende of their businesse.

The death of the Licenciat Luys

Ponce.



Lhe Licenciat comming one day from Saint Frances abbay from service, felt into an extreme burning feuer, and lay him downe in his bedde, where he remained the space of thre dayes, as a man out of his wittes, and the feuer stil encreasing, so that on the seuenth day he yielded vp the ghost. In the time of his sicknesse he receiued the communion, and made his last will & testament. He left for substitute in his office, the bachelor Marcus de Aguilar. Cortes made as great sorrow for his death, as if he had bene his owne father, his funeralles were celebrated with great pompe.

The enemies of Cortes published, that he died of poison. But the Licenciat Pero Lopez, and Doctor Hoieda, who were his Physicians, swore that he died of a burning feuer, and shewed a further consequence, that the euening before he decessed, he desired them, to play the measures vpon a lute, and as he lay in his bedde, shewed with stirring his feete the compasses and pointes of the daunce. It was a thing which diuers persons saw, and forthwith he lost his speche, and that night toward the dawning of the day he yielded vp his spirite. I thinke that fewe men do die dauncing, as this Lawier did. The number of a hundred persons came out of Spaine with the Licenciat, whereof the mosse parte died by sea and on the lande. It was suspected to be a pestilence, for one of them infected another. There were in his company many Gentlemen, and ech of the had an office. There was a Frier who was

A madd
daunce.

a very slaunderous fellow, & reported that Cortes had poisoned the Licenciat, and also that the Licenciat had an expresse order from the Emperour to cut of Cortes his head, as soon as he had take the Care of Justice from him. The subtle Frier, had thought to haue gotten mony of the one, and thanks of the other, and at the ende had nothing.

How Cortez came into Spaine.



Here one Alonso de Estrada gouerned the state of Mexico, as substitute of Marcus de Aguillar, according to the Emperours commaundement, Cortes considered with himselfe that it was not possible for him to haue againe his office, except he wente personally to the Emperours court, where he had many aduersaries and few friends, so that he was afflicted on euery side: yet he in fine, determined to goe into Spaine, as well for businesse of importance of his owne, as also matters touching the Emperour and his new kingdomes, whereof I will rehearse particularly some.

As touching his owne causes, first he being a man of good yeeres, went to marry, hoping to haue children, vnto whom he might leaue the profite of his labour and paine: also to appeare before the King his maister face to face, and to enforme his Maiestie what Landes and Kingdomes hee had wonne and brought vnto his royall crowne: To signifie likewise vnto him, of the dissension among the Spanyardes his subiectes in Mexico, and to answer for himselfe, to any false reportes which had bene made against him: And finally, to receiue a condue reward for his worthe and faithfull seruice. Cortez being in these imaginations, there was brought

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brought a letter vnto him, from the reuerend father Garcia de Loaisa, ghostly father vnto the Emperoz, and afterwards was ordeyned Cardinall, in the which letter hee consulted him earnestly to come vnto Spaine, to the effect that the Emperours Maestie might both see & know him, assuring him of his friendship. After the receit of this letter, he made all the haste possible to depart vpon his iourney, ceasing from his voyage which he had in hand, for to inhabite the Riuer De las Palmas. Before his departure, he dispatched two hundred Spaniards, and three score and tenne Hoylemen, with many Mexicans, for the countrey of Chichimeca, to inhabite there, finding the land riche of silver Mines, as it was reported, giuing vnto those men expresse order, that if the people of that Province did not entertaine them with friendship, that then they shuld accept them as enemies, and forthwith to make warre, and to take them for slaues, for that they are a barbarous people: He wrote his letter to Vera Cruz, to prepare with all speede two good shippes, and for that purpose he sent Pero Ruiz de Esquivel, who was a Gentleman of Skill: But hee went not on the iourney, for a moneth after, they founde him buried in a little Ilande of the lake, with one hande out of the grane, which was eaten with dogges and foule: hee was buried in his doublet and his hose: he had one onely wound in his forehead: And a Negro, his slaue, who went in his company, was neuer heard of, nor yet the Canoa and Indians that went with him, so that the truth of his death was neuer knowne.

Cortes made an Inuentary of his moueable goodes, which was valued at two hundredeth thousande Castillins of golde: he left for gouernour of his owne estate, the Licenciat Alcamirano his kinsman, with other two friends: hee furnished two shippes, and proclaymed free passage and victuals vnto all those that would go in his company: he

he shipped for his owne account a thousand five hundred markes of silver, twentie thousand Castlins of good gold, and ten thousand Castlins of base golde. He toke in his company Gonsalo de Sadoval, Andres de Tapia, and other of the chiefeft of the conquerours. He brought with him a Sonne of Mutezuma, & another Sonne of Maxixca, who was become a Chriftian, & named Don Lorenzo, with many other Indian Gentlemen of Mexico, Tlaxcallan, and other cities: eight players with a cudgell, twelue tennis players, with certaine men and women of that Countrey who were white of colour, and other dwarfes and deformed persons. He brought also wild beaſts, as Tigres and other ſtrange beaſts called Aiotocheli, and one Tlaquaci. Moreover he brought a great number of mantels made of feathers and Conny heare, Targeſs, buſhes or tuſſes of galant feather, and looking glaſſes of ſtone. In ſine, he came like a great Lord, and arrived in Spaine, in the end of the yere 1528. the Courte being then in Tolledo. The newes of his arrivall was blowne throughout al Spaine, and every one deſirous to ſee him.

The honour which the Emperour ſhewed vnto
Hernando Cortes, with rewarde.



He Emperour receiued Cortes magnificially, and to giue him the greater honour, he went and viſited him at his owne lodging.

The Emperour being in a readines to paſſe into Italie, to be ther crowned with the Emperiall crowne, Cortes went in his maieſties company vnto the Citie of Saragoza, whereas his Maieſtie calling to remembrance his woorthie ſeruice, and valour of his perſon, made him Marques del Valle de Huaracac, ac-

A a a

ceding

cording to his desire, on the .vi. of July, An. 1528. and Captaine generall of the newe Spaine, with all the provinces and coast of the south sea, chiefe discoverer and inhabiter of the same coaste and Ilandes, with the twelfth parte of all that after that time shoulde be discovered, for a sure inhabitaunce to him and his discentantes: he offered vnto him also the habite of the order of Knighthode of Saint Iames, the which offer Cortes refused, because there was no rent given with the habite, but he besought his Maestie to graunt vnto him the gouernment of Mexico, the which request the Emperour denied, because that no Conquerour should thinke that the office of gouernment and iustice is due vnto him, for the like demaund was desired of the king Don Fernando, by Cristoual Colon, who first discovered the Indian, and also the great Captaine Gonsalo Hernandez de Cordoua, who conquered Naples. Cortes deserved much, and also the Emperour gaue him much, to honour him as a most bountifull and gratefull King, who neuer taketh away that which once he giueth. He likewise gaue vnto Cortez all the kingdome of Michuacan, but he had rather haue had diuers other townes which he demaunded, many other great fauours and rewards he receiued at the Emperours hands, but the principall are those before declared.

The Mariage of Cortez.



When it was known in Spaine, that the lady Katherin Xuares, wife vnto Cortes, was deceased in India, by intercessours he was assured vnto the Duke of Bejar, his brothers daughter, who was named the lady Iane of Zuniga: her fathers name was Dō Carolus de Arrellano, earl of Aguilar. This lady was

a beſtfull Dame, and her brethren noble perſonages, who were highly in fauour with the Emperour. And Cortes to match with ſo honorable an houſe and linage he iudged himſelfe fortunate and well married.

Among many Jewels which Cortes broughte with him, were ſiue moſte riche and fine Emeraldes, which were valued at a hundzeth thouſande Duckets: the one was wrought like vnto a Roſe, another like a Cornet, an other like a fiſhe with the eyes of Golde, which was a marvellous peece of worke, being wrought among Indians: an other peece was wrought like vnto a bell, with a great and riche pearle for the clapper, garniſhed with golde, ingrauen about with letters, which ſaide, Bleſſed is he that created the. The fiſth was made like a cuppe with the ſote of gold, and had foure little chaines of gold, that were ioyned all at the top together, in a great pearle, and the brymme of this cuppe was of gold, with this verſe ingrauen round about, *Inter natos mulierum non surrexis maior.* For this onely peece the Marchantes of Geneva did offer fourtie thouſand Duccates, for to ſel the ſame again to the great Turke. But at that time Cortes would not giue it for any money, although afterwarde he loſt them all in the warres of Argel, being there with the Emperour. It was told Cortes that the Empreſſe deſired to haue thoſe peeces, meaning to demaunde them of him, and that the Emperour ſhoulde pay for the ſame, for which cauſe he ſent them to the Lady his newe wife, with many other Jewelles befoze he came at the Courte, and there, when he was enquired for them, he answered, and excuſed himſelfe, for then certainly he gaue ſuch Jewels vnto his Epouſe, that the like neuer Lady had in Spaine. And after he was married to the Lady Iane of Zuniga, he departed with her to the newe Spaine, with title of Marques.

The riche
Emeraldes.

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How the Chancerie was first placed in Mexico,
and certaine diuelish pretences wrought
against Cortes.



Before Cortes his coming into Spaine, Pamfilo de Narvaez his old enemy, went by and downe in the Court, procuring the conquest of the riuer De Palmas and Florida, where at the last he died, and alwaies when he saw time couenient, he made complaints against Cortez, yea and to the Emperours olone hande he deliuered a scrole of many articles, among the which was one, where in he affirmed that Cortez had as many barres of golde and siluer, as in Biscay were barres of yron, and offered to proue the same: but although it was not true, yet it was suspicious. He also earnestly procured that he should be punished, saying that he had plucked out one of his eyes, and killed with poise the Licentiat Luys ponce de Leon, and Francisco Garay. Through his many and importunat petitions, it was determined to send to Mexico, Don Pedro de la Cueva, who was both fierce and seuer, and Lord steward of the Emperours his house, and afterwarde made generall of the ordinance, and chiefe Comendadoz of the order and knight-hood of Alcantara, who finding the accusation true, should cut off Cortez his hevd.

But as God would, in the meane season came the testimoniall from the Doctor Hoieda, & the Licentiat Pero Lopez phisitions, who had cured the persons that were reported to haue bene poisoned, wher upon that commission ceased. And when Cortez came into Spaine, Don Pedro de la Cueva would many times laugh and jest with him, saying, From farre places long lies.

The Emperour and his counsell of India, prouided a
Court

the vvest India.

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Court of Chancerie in Mexico, as chiefe place, where as all controuerfies and matters of right throughout the new Spaine, might there bee determined, and also to correct the mutinies, and partes taken among the Spaniards: likewise to take residence and account of Cortes, and to bee satisfied both of his seruice and offences. Moreover that they should visite the officers, and royall Treasozie there. Nunio de Gusman was appointed president and gouernour, with other foure Licenciates for Judges to accompanie him. He departed toward Mexico, Anno. 1529. and at his comming, he began to vnderstand in his regiment and office, with the Licenciade Iohn Ortiz, for the other thre Judges died by the way. Cortez being no more absent, and vpon his iourney toward Spaine, this newe Judge made a terrible residence and condemnation against him, and commaunded all his goodes to be solde by out-thραπε, for a great deale lesse then his goodes were worth, and in his absence they called him by Proclamation: but if he had bene there present, his life had bene in danger, although face to face some respect is had, and it is an ordinarie rule that the Judge sheweth rigour against him that is absent. This hatred was not only against Cortes, but also against his friends, for he apprehended Pedro de Aluerado, who was newly come from Spaine, because he spake in the fauour of Cortes, laying to his charge the rebellion of Mexico, when Naruaes was there. He also apprehended Alonso de Estrada, and many others, doing manifest wrongs vnto them.

Before the
Iudges came,
Cortez was
gone to Spain.

In short space the Emperour had more complaints against Nunio de Gusman, and the other Judge, then had bene heretofore against any other, whereupon hee was put out of office in the yeare 1530. His wrongfull dealing in iustice was not onely proued in Mexico, but also in the Court of Spaine, with many persons that were come

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from thence, so that the next President and Judges that went thither, did pronounce Nunio de Gusman and his fellow for partiall Judges, and enemies vnto Cortes, and condemned him to pay all his goodes which were euill sold. But when Nunio de Gusman vnderstood that he was put out of office, he then was afraid, and toke his tourney against the Teuchichimecas, seeking after the Towne of Culhuacan, from whence the Mexicans descended. He carried in his companie five hundred Spaniards, whereof the most were horsemen, and many of them went as prisoners, and against their willes.

In Mechuacan he toke prisoner the king Caconcin, who was a great friend vnto Cortes, a seruitor vnto the Spaniards, and vassall to the Emperour, and as the same goeth, he toke from him ten thousand markes of plate, and much golde, and afterward burned him, and many other Gentlemen, and principall persons of that kingdome, because they should not complaine, saying, that a dead dogge biteth not. He toke from thence sixe thousand Indians for the seruice of his armie, and with them conquered Xalixco, which is now called the netwe Gallizia. He abode there, vntill the Vizeroy Don Antonio de Mondoza, and Chancerie of Mexico, caused him to be apprehended, who sent him prisoner into Spain, to giue account of his office. If Nunio de Gusman had bene so good a gouernour and Judge, as he was in bloud a Gentleman, he had then enjoyed the best plot of all the West India, but he behaued himselfe euill, both with the Indians and Spaniards.

The same yeare that he came from Mexico, went thither for president Sebastian Ramirez, who was a Bishop, and had in time past bene president in Santo Domingo, and the Licenciates Iohn de Salmeron, Gasco Quiroga, Francisco Ceynes, and Alonso Maldonado, for Judges to accompanie him.

These

the vvest India.

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These Judges gouerned well the land, and caused the Citie of Angels to be inhabited, which the Indians called Cuertlaxcoapan, that is to say, a Snake in water. The reason was, because they haue two fountaines, the one of euil water, and the other of good. This Citie standeth twentie leagues from Mexico, in the high way to Vera Crux. The Bishop set the Indians at libertie, and therefore many Spaniards departed from thence, who had inhabited there before, and went to seeke their liuing at Calixco, Hnduras, Quahutemallan, and other places where warre was.

The returne of Cortes to Mexico.

At this season arriued Cortes at the rich Towne of Vera Crux, and when his comming was published, how he came with title of Marques, and had brought his wife with him, an infinite number of Indians came to visite him, and almost all the Spaniards of Mexico, so that in fewe dayes there came a thousande persons of his owne nation, who made their complaintes vnto him, how they were vndone, and that the Judges which had bene there, had destroyed both him & them, and asked his iudgement whether that nowe they might kill both them and theirs. Cortes hearing their odious request, repzebended them, and also gaue them hope shortly to releue their necessitie with newe discoveries, and in this order fearing some mutinie, he held them in pleasure and pastime.

When the President heard how Cortes was visited of the Spaniards, they commaunded forthwith euery one of them should immediately returne to Mexico, or else where their dwelling places were vpon pain of death, yea, and they were about to apprehende Cortes for a stirrer
of

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of byzore, and to sende him backe againe prisoner into Spaine. But when he sawe how sone these Judges were moved, he commaunded to proclaim himsele openly in Vera Crux, Captaine Generall of all the dominions of the new Spaine, and there caused the Emperours letters patents to bee read, which thing being knowne to the Mexican Judges, it caused the to wyng their noses. After this diligence ended, he departed toward Mexico with a great company of Spaniards and Indians, among whom were a good company of horsemen: but when he came to Tezcuco, the President sent to commaund him not to enter into Mexico, upon paine of losse of his goods, and his bodie to be at the kings pleasure.

Hee obeyed the commaundement with great wisdom, being a thing conuenient to the seruice of the Emperour, and profite of the land, which he had wonne with great toile and labour: but yet he abode in Tezcuco with a greater maiestie and Court, then the President in Mexico, and wrote vnto him, that he should consider his good will and whole intent, and not to giue occasion to the Indians to rebell, and for the Spaniards hee might assure himsele.

The Indians vnderstanding the discord betwixt the president and Cortes, such as many Spaniards as they coulde get at aduantage, so that in fewe dayes there wanted aboute two hundred of the Spanishe nation, being slaine as well in Townes, as in the high wayes, yea and also they had communed among themselues to rebell in deede. But when the Bishop and the Judges heard this newes, they began to feare the matter, and considering that they had no better remedie, nor other sure defence, but only the name, valor, person and authoritie of Cortes, they sent to desire him to come vnto Mexico, whereupon hee obserued their commaundement and request, and went toward the Citie, well

well accompanied with men of warre, so that he shewed himselfe in estate a generall Captaine. All the Citizens came out to receiue him and the lady Barques his wife: his entrie into the Citty was a day of great pleasure among them. Then the President and Judges entred into counsell for to remedie the great hurt which had bin done by the Indians. Cortes tooke the matter in hand, and apprehended many Indians, of whome some hee burned, others were tozned with dogs, he did such correction, that in short time all the Country was quiet, and the high waies without daunger, a thing woorthie of great thanks.

The Letters that the Indians vsed
in Mexico.

There hath not bene founde Letters at any time in the West India, onely in the new Spaine were vsed certaine figures which serued for Letters, with the which they kepte in memorie, and perserued their antiquities. The figures that the Mexicans vsed for Letters are great, by reason whereof they occupie great volumes: they engraued them in stone or timber, and painted them vpon walles, and also vpon a paper made of cotton wooll, and leaues of the tree Metl. Their booke are great and folded vp like vnto our broad cloathes, and written vpon both sides. There are some booke rolled vp like a peece of flannell. They pronounce not b. g. e. f. Therefore they vse much p. e. l. r. This is the Spanish speech, and Nahual, which is the best, plainest, and the most eloquent, in all new Spaine. There are some in Mexico that do vnderstand each other by whistling, which is ordinarily vsed among louers, and theues, a speech truly to wonder at, and none of our men could come to the knowledge thereof.

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The order how to reckon.

Ce	One
Ome	Two
Ei	Thre
Nau	Four
Macuil	Five
Chicoace	Six
Chicome	Seven
Chicuei	Eight
Chiconau	Nine
Matlac	Tenne
Matlactlioc	Eleuen
Matlactliome	Twelue
Matlactliomei	Thirtene
Matlactlinau	Fourtene
Matlactlinacui	Fiftene
Matlactlichicoace	Sixtene
Matlactlichicome	Seuentene
Matlactlichicuei	Eightene
Matlactlichiconau	Nineteene
Cempoalli	Twentie

Every number is simple untill you come to sixe, and then they count, sixe and one, sixe and two, sixe and thre. Ten is a number by himselfe, then you must count tenne and one, tenne and two, tenne and thre, tenne and foure, tenne and five.

Then you count, tenne, five, and one, tenne, five, and two, tenne, five, and thre. Twentie goeth by himself, and all the greater numbers.

The

The Mexican yeare.

The Mexicans yeare is three hundredth fiftie dayes, for they haue in their yeare eightene moneths, and euery moneth containeth twentie dayes. They haue other fise odde dayes, which goeth by themselves, in the which they vsed to celebrate great feastes of cruell and bloody sacrifice, with much deuotion. And reckoning after this sort, they could not chouse but erre, for they could not make equall the punctuall course of the Sunne. For the Christian yeare is not perfit, although we haue learned Astronomers. But yet these simple Indians went néer the marke.

The names of the moneths.

Thacaxipeualiztli.

Tozcutzli.

Huei Tozeuztli.

Toxcaltli.

Ecalcoaliztli.

Tocuilhuicintli.

Hucitecuilhuiel

Miccailhuicintli.

Veymiccailhuicintli.

Vchpaniztli.

Pachtli.

Huei Pachtli.

Quecholli.

Panquecaliztli.

Hatemuztli.

Tititli.

Izcaltli.

Coa vitleuac

The Conquest of

The names of Dayes.

Cipactli	A Spade
Hecatl	Aire or Winde
Calli	A House
Cuez Pali	A Lizard
Coualt	A Snake
Mizquintli	Death
Macatl	A wilde Hart
Tochtli	A Conny
Atl	Water
Izcuyntli	A Dogge
Ocumatli	An Ape
Malinalli	A Byome
Acatli	A Cause
Ocelotl	A Tigre
Coautli	An Eagle
Cozcaquahuatl	A Buzzard
Olin	A Temple
Tepatli	A Knife
Quiauitl	Aaine
Xuchiel	A Rose.

Although these twentie names serue for the whole yeare, and are but the daies of euery moneth, yet therfore euery moneth beginneth not with Cipactli, which is the first name, but as they folloive in order, and the five odde dayes is the cause thereof. And also because their weeke is of thirtene dayes, which changeth the names, as by example, Cecipactli can go no further then vnto Matlactlomeiacatl, which is thirtene, and then beginneth another weeke: and we do not say Matlactlinaui Ocelotl, which is the fourteenth day, but we say Ceocelotl, which is one, and then reckon the other six names, vnto twentie.

And

And when all the twentie dayes are ended, begin againe to reckon from the first name of the twentie, but not from one, but from eight. And because ye may better vnderstand the matter, here is the example.

Cecipacli.

Omehécatl.

Ei Calli.

Nauí Cuezpali.

Macuicouatl.

Chicoacén Mizquinh.

Chicome Macatl.

Chicuei Tochli.

Chiconauatl.

Matlaciz Cuinli.

Mailactliocé Ocumatli.

Matlaçtliome Malinalli.

Matlaçtlomei Acatl.

The next weeke following doth begin his dayes from one. And that one is the fourtéenth name of the moneth and of the dayes, and saith :

Ceotelotl.

Omecoautli.

Eicozcaquahutli.

Nauí Olui.

Macuít Tecpatl.

Chicoacén Quiauitl.

Chicome Xuchitl.

Chicuei Cipacli.

In this second weeke, Cipacli came to fall on the eight day, being in the first weeke the first day.

Cemácatl.

Omecochtli.

Eiatl.

Nauí Mizquinh.

Macuít Ocumatli.

3bb 3

And

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And so procéde on to the thirde weeke, in the which this name Cipactli entred not, but Macatl, which was the seventh day in the first weeke, and had no place in the second, and is the first in the third. This reckoning is no darker then ours, which we haue in a.b.c.d.e.f.g. For they also change with time, and run in such sort, that a. which was the first letter of this moneth, cometh to bee the fift day of the next moneth, and the thirde moneth he counteth to be the third day, and so orderly both the other fixe letters.

The accounting of yeares.

These Mexicans had another order to reckon their yeares, which exceeded not aboue foure in number, as one, two, thre, foure, wherewith they account a hundred, five hundred, a thousand, and as many moe as they list. Those foure figures or names are, Tochli, Acatl, Tecpatl, Calli, and do signifie a Conny, a Cause, a knife, and a House, saying.

Ce Tochli	One yeare
Ome Acatl	Two yeares
Ei Tecpatl	Thre yeares
Nauí Calli	Foure yeares
Macuil Tochli	Five yeares
Chioacén Acatl	Sixe yeares
Cicome Tecpatl	Seuen yeares
Chicuei Calli	Eight yeares
Chiconauí Tochli	Nine yeares
Matlatli Acatl	Ten yeares
Matlatliocé Tecpatl	Eleuen yeares
Matlatliome Calli	Twelue yeares
Matlatliomei Tochli	Thirtene yeares

the vvest India.

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So that the reckoning passeth not about thirtene,
which is one weeke of the yeare, and endeth where he
began.

Another weeke.

Ce Acatlh	One yeare
Ome Tlepatlh	Two yeares
Ei Calli	Thre yeares
Nauí Tochtli	Foure yeares
Macuíl Acatlh	Five yeares
Chioacén Tecpatlh	Sixe yeares
Chicome Calli	Seuen yeares
Chicuei Tochtli	Eight yeares
Chiconauí Acatlh	Nine yeares
Matlaçtli Tecpatlh	Ten yeares
Matlaçtliocē Calli	Eleuen yeares
Matlaçtliome Tochtli	Twelue yeares
Matlaçtliomei Acatlh	Thirtene yeares

The third week of yeares.

Ce Tecpatlh	One yeare
Ome Calli	Two yeares
Ei Tochtli	Thre yeares
Nauí Acatlh	Foure yeares
Macuíl Tecpatlh	Five yeares
Chioacén Calli	Sixe yeares
Chicome Tochtli	Seuen yeares
Chicuei Acatlh	Eight yeares
Chiconauí Tecpatlh	Nine yeares
Matlaçtli Calli	Ten yeares
Matlaçtliome Tochtli	Eleuen yeares
	Twelue

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Matlacihome Acatlh	Twelue yeares
Matlacihomei Tecpatlh	Thirtene yeares

The fourth Weeke.

Ce Calli	One yeare
Ome Tochtli	Two yeares
Ei Acatlh	Thre yeares
Nauí Tecpatlh	Foure yeares
Macuil Calli	Five yeares
Chiqacén Tochtli	Sixe yeares
Chicome Acatlh	Seuen yeares
Chieuei Tecpatlh	Eight yeares
Chiconauí Calli	Nine yeares
Matlacitli Tochtli	Ten yeares
Matlacihoe Acatlh	Eleuen yeares
Matlacihome Tecpatlh	Twelue yeares
Matlacihomei Calli	Thirtene yeares

Each of these weekes, which our men call *Indition*, doth containe thirtene yeares, so that all the four weekes make two and fiftie yeares, which is a perfite number in the reckoning, and is called the yeare of grace, for from fiftie two yeares, to fiftie two yeares, they used to make solemne feasts, with straunge Ceremonies, as hereafter shall be declared. And when fiftie two yeares are ended, then they begin againe, by the same order before declared, untill they come to as many mo, beginning at Ce Tochtli, and so forward. But alwayes they begin at the Conny figure. So that in the forme of reckoning they keepe and haue in memorie, things of 850. yeares, and by this Cronicle they know in what yeare euery thing hapned, and how long euery king reigned: howe many children they had, and all things else that importeth to the estate of the government of the land.

The

The Indians beleueed that fīue ages were past,
which they called Sunnes.

The Indians of Culhua did belēue that the Gods had made the world, but they knew not how, yet they belēued that since the creation of the world foure Sunnes were past, and that the fift and last is the Sunne that now giueth light to the world.

They helde opinion that the first Sunne perished by water, and at the same time all liuing creatures perished likewise.

The second Sunne (say they) fell from the heauē, with whose fall all liuing creatures were slaine, and then (said they) were manye Gīantes in that Countrey, and certaine monstrous bones, which our men found in opening of graues, by proportion whereof, some should seeme to be men of twenty spannes high.

The third Sunne was consumed by fire, which burned day and night, so that then all liuing creatures were burned.

The fourth Sunne finished by tempest of ayre or winde, which blew downe houses, trees, yea and hī mountains and Rocks were blowen a sunder, but the linage of mankinde perished not, sauing that they were conuerfed into Apes. And touching the fift Sunne, which now reigneth, they know not how it shall consume. But they say, that when the fourth Sunne perished, all the world fell into darkenelle, and so remained for the space of fīue and twenty yeares continually, and at the fiftenth yeare of that fearefull darkenelle, the Gods did forme one man and woman, who brought forth children, and at the end of the other tenne yeares, appeared the Sunne whiche was newly borne vppon the figure of the Conny day, and there.

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therefore they begin their account of yeares at that day, and reckoning from the yeare of our Lord 1552 their age or Sunne is 858. so that it appeareth that they haue vſed many yeares their writing in figures: and they had not onely this vſe from Cetoehi, which is the beginning of their yeare, moneth, and day, of their fifth Sunne, but also they had the ſame order and vſe in the other four Sunnes which were paſt: but they let many things ſlip out of memorie, ſaying, that with the new Sunne, all other things ſhould be likewiſe new. They held alſo opinion, that three dayes after this laſt Sunne appeared, all the Goddes did die, and that in proceſſe of time the Gods which now they haue, and worſhip, were bozne. And through theſe falſe opinions, our Diuines did ſoone conuert them to the knowledge of the true lawes of God.

The nation of the Indians called Chichimecas.

IN the land now called new Spaine, are diuers & ſundry generations of people: but they holde opinion, that the ſtock of moſt antiquitie, is the people now called Chichimecas, which proceeded out of the houſe of Aculhuacan, which ſtandeth beyonde Xalisco, about the yeare of our Lord, 720. Many of this Generation did inhabite aboute the lake of Tenuchtilan, but their name ended by mixture in marriage with other people. At that time they had no hing, nor yet did builde either houſe or towne. Their only dwellings was in caues in the mountaines. They went naked, they ſowed no kind of graine, nor vſed bread of any ſort. They did maintaine themſelues with rotes, hearbes, and ſiluer ſeeder frutes: and being a people cunning in ſhooting with the bowe, they killed

led Deare, Hares, Connies, and other beastes and foule, which they eate also, not sodden or roasted, but rawe, and dyed in the Sunne. They eate also Snakes, Lizards, and other filthy beastes, yea, and at this day there are some of this generation that vse the same diet. But although they liued such a bestiall life, and being a people so barbarous, yet in their diuellish religion they were verie deuout. They worshipped the Sunne, vnto whom they vled to offer Snakes, Lizards, and such other beastes. They like wise offered vnto their God all kinde of foule, from the degree of an Eagle, to a little Butterflie. They vled not sacrifice of manslaught, nor had any Idoles, no not so much as of the Sunne, whom they held for the sole and onely God. They married but with one woman, and in no degree of kindred. They were a stout & a warlike people, by reason whereof they were Lords of the land.

The coronation of the kings of Mexico.

Although one brother was heire to an other among the *Mexicans*, and after their deceasse, did inherite the Sonne of the eldest Brother, yet they toke no possession of the state or name of king, vntil they were appointed and crowned openly.

As soone as any king of Mexico deceased, and his funerals ended, then were called to Parliamt the Lord of Tezcucotl, and the lord of Tlacopan, who were the chiefeest estates, and then in order all other noble men, who owed any seruice to the Mexican Empire. And being come together, if any doubt of the inheritance of the Crowne happened, then the matter was decided with all haste: then the newe king being knowne, he was stripped skarke naked, except a cloath to couer his priue parts, and in this sorte was carried among them, to the great Temple

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of Vitzilopucheli with great silence, and without any toy
or pleasure: Two Gentlemen of the Citie whose office
it was, ledde him by the staires of the Temple by the
armes, and before him wente the Princes of Tezcucuo and
Tlacopan, who that day did weare their robes of Cozona-
tion, where vpon was painted their armes and title. He
rie setve of the Laitie wente by into the Chappels, but
onely those that were appointed to attire the newe king,
and to serue in other Ceremonies, for all the residue
stode vpon the steyppes and belowe, to beholde the Cozo-
nation. These Magistrates beinge aboue in the Chap-
pell, came with great humillitie and reuerence, knée-
ling downe vpon their knees before the Idoll of Vitzilopucheli,
and touched the earth with one finger and then kissed the
same. Then came the high priest cloathed in his pontifi-
call vestmentes, with many others in his company, who
did weare surplises: and without speaking any worde,
they painted or couloured the Kings person, with ynke
made for the purpose, as blacke as any cole. After this
Ceremonie done, they blessed the annointed King, and
sprinkled him foure times with a certaine holly water,
that was made at the time of conecration of the God,
made of dowe or paffe, with a sprinkle made of boughes
of Cane leaues, Ceder, and wilow leaues. Then they put
vpon his head, a cloth painted with the bones and skulles
of dead men, and next they clothed him with a black gar-
ment, and vpon that another blew, and both were painted
with figures of dead mens skulles & bones. Then they
put about his neck certaine laces, whereat did hang the
armes of his Crowne. And behind his backe they did hang
certaine litle bottels full of powders, by vertue whereof he
was deliuered from pestilence and diseases, according to
their opinion: yea & therby witches, nor witchcrafts could
not hurt him, nor yet euill menne deceyue him. In fine,
with

Theoint-
ment.

with those reliques he was sure from all perill and daunger. Upon his left arme they bound a little bagge of incense, and then brought vnto him a chaffing dish of tinners made of the barke of an Oke tree. Then the king arose, and with his owne hande threw of the same incense into the chaffing dish, and with great reuerence brought the same to the God Virzilopucheli, and after he had smoked him therewith, he satte him downe, then came the high Priest and toke his oath to maintaine the religion of the Goddes, to keepe also all the lawes and customes of his predecessours, to maintaine iustice, and not to aggrauate any of his bassals or subiects, and that he should be valiant in the warres, that he should cause the Sunne to giue his light, the cloudes to yelde raine, the riuers to runne, and the earth to bring forth all kinde of graine, fruites, and other needefull hearbs and trees. These and many other impossible things the newe king did sweare to performe: and then he gaue thanks to the high priest, and commended himself to the Goddes, and to the lookers on, and they who brought him vp in the same order, carried him downe againe. Then all the people cried, the Goddes preserve the new king, and that he may raigne many yeares in health with al his people. But then some began to dance, other to play on their instruments, shewing outwardly their inward ioyes of heart. And before the king came to the foote of the steppes, all the noble men came to yelde their obedience, and in token of louing and faithfull subiectes, they presented vnto him feathers, strings of snail shelles, Collers, and other Jewelles of golde and silver, also mantels painted with death, & bare him company vnto a great hall within the compasse of the temple, and there left him. The king sitteth downe vnder his cloth of estate, called Tlacatecco, and in four daies departeth not out of the circuite of the temple, the which

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he spendes in prayers, sacrifice and penance, he eates then but once a day, and euery day he bathes himselfe, and againe in the night in a greate ponde of water, and then lettes himselfe bloud in his eares, and senseth there with the god of Water, called Tlaloc: he likewise senseth the other gods, vnto whome he offereth bread, flowers, Papers, and little Canes, tied in the bloud of his owne tongue, nose, handes, and other partes of his body. After the foure dayes expired, then come all the Noble men to beare him company to his pallaice, with greate triumph and pleasure of all the Citie, but after his consecration fewe or none dare looke him in the face.

And now with the declaring of the actes and Ceremonies that the Mexican Kings are crowned, I shall not neede to rehearse of other kings, for generally they all do vse the same order, sauing that other Princes goe not vp to the toppe of the Temple, but abide at the foote of the Steppes to be crowned, and after their Coronation they come to Mexico for their confirmation, and then at their returne to their countrey, they made many drunken feasts and banquets.

The opinion of the Mexicans concerning the Soule.



The Mexicans did beleue that the Soule was immortal, and that they receiued either toy or paine according to their desertes & living in this world, vnto which opinion al their religion did attaine, and chiefly appeare at their burials. They helde for an assured faith, that there were nine places appointed for soules, & the chiefest place of glozy to be nere vnto the Sunne, where the soules of those which were
god

god men slaine in the warres, and those which were sacrificed were plac'd, no that all other sortes of euill persons their soules abode on þe earth, and were deuided after this sorte, children that were dead bozne went to one place, those which died of age or other disease went to another, those which died of sudden death to another, those which died of woundes or contagious diseases went to an other place, those which were drowned went to another, those which were put to death for offence by order of Justice, as for robbery and adultery to another: Those which slew their fathers, mothers, wiues or children, to another place by themselves, also those who slew their maisters or any religious person went to another place. The common sorte of people were buried, but Lozdes and rich men had their bodies burned & their ashes buried. In their shreuts they had a great difference, for many deade bodie's were buried better apparrelled then when they were on liue. Women were shrewded after another sort. And he that suffered death for adultery, was shrewded like vnto the God of leachery, called Tlazoulteuctli, he that was drowned like vnto the God of water named Tlacoc, and he that died with drunkennesse was shrewded like vnto the God of wine called Ometocheli. But the souldier had an honorable shrewd like vnto the attyre of Virzilopucheli, and the like order in all other sortes of deathes.

The buriall of Kings in Mexico.



When any King of Mexico happened to fall sicke, they bled forth with to put a visor vppon the face of Tzacahpuca, or Virzilopucheli, or some other Idoll, whiche visor was not taken awaye, vntill

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untill they sawe whether the king did amend, or else die: But if he chaunced to die, then word was sent throughout all his dominions to bewaile his death, and also other postes were sent to call the noble men that were his nearest kinsmen, and to warne them within foure dayes to come vnto his buriall.

The dead bodie was laid vpon a faire matre, and was watched foure nights, with great lamentation and mourning: then the bodie was washed, and a locke of haire cut from the croone of his head, which was preserved as a great relieke, saying that therein remained the remembrance of his soule. This done, a fine Emerald was put in his mouth, and his bodie shrowded in seuentene riche mantles, of colours, both rich and costly wrought. Upon the upper mantle was sette the deuise or armes of Vitzilopuchli or Tezcalipuca, or some other Idoll, in whome the king had great confidence in his life time, and in his temple should the body be buried. Upon his face they put a visor, paynted with foule and Diuellish iestures, besette with many Jewelles, precious stones, and pearles. When they killed his slaue, whose office was to light the Lampes, and make fire vnto the Goddess of his Pallace. These things done, they carried the dead bodie vnto the Temple: some followed him with dolefull tune, others sung the death of the king by note, so was the custome.

The Noble men and Gentlemen of his household carried Targets, Arrows, Bases, and Ensignes to throwe into the fire where the body should be buried in the Temple. The high Priest and all the Clergie receiued him at the Temple gate, with a sorrowfull song, and after hee had saide certaine words, the bodie was throwne into a great fire made for the purpose, with all the Jewels that hee had about him, and all the other things which was brought

brought to honour the buriall: also a dogge newly strangled with an Arrowe, which was to guide him his way. In the meane while that the King and dogge were burning, the Priests sacrificed two hundred persons, notwithstanding in this Ceremonie there was no ordinary fare, for sometimes they sacrificed many more: they were opened with a rasour of flint in the breastes, and their hearts taken out and throwne into the fire where the Kings bodie was. These miserable persons being sacrificed, and their bodies throwne into a hole, they believed assuredly that those should serve for his slaves in another world: some of them were Dwarfes, monstrous and deformed persons, with some women. They placed about the dead bodie of the King befoze his buriall, Roses, Floures, and sundry dishes of meate and drinke, and no creature durst touch the same, but onely the Priests, for it seemed to be an offering.

The next day following, all the ashes were gathered together, and the teeth with the Emerald that was in his mouth, the which things were put into a chest, paynted on the inside with horrible figures of diuels, and the Locke of haire which was cut from his crowne, and another Locke of haire which was preserved from the time of his birth. When the chest was lockt, an image of wood made and cloathed like unto the Kings person, which was set on the toppe of the chest. The obsequies endured foure dayes, in the which the wiues and daughters of the king offered great offerings at the place where his bodie was buried. and befoze the chest and his image.

On the fourth day after the buriall, fiftene slaves were sacrificed for his soule, and on the twentieth day, other five persons were also sacrificed, likewise on the sixtie three, and fourescore, which was like unto the yeares winde.

The order of buriall of the Kings of
Michuacan,

The kingdome of Michuacan is almoste as great as the Empire of Mexico, and when any king of that countrey happened to be visited with sicknesse, and brought to such extremitie, y hope of life were past, according to the opinion of Philosophers, the would he name and appoint which of his Sonnes shoulde inherite the estate, and being knowne, the new king or heire, incontinent sent for all the gouernours, Captaines, and valiant souldiours, who had any office or charge to come vnto the buriall of his Father, and he that came not, from thence, forth was helde for a Traytour and so punished. When the death of the olde king was certaine, then came all degrees of Estates and brought presents to the new king, for the approbation of his kingdome, but if the king were not thoroughly dead, but at the point of death, then the gates were shut in, and none permitted to enter, and when his life was departed, then beganne a generall crye and mourning, and they were permitted to come where their dead king lay, and to touche him with their handes: this being done, the carhasse was washed with swete waters, and then a fine shirte put vpon him, and a paire of shoes made of a Deere skinne put on his fete, and aboute his ancles were tied certaine belles of golde, about his wristes of his handes were put manyllias of Turkes, and other bracelets of golde, likewise aboute his necke they hung other collers of pzeious stones and golde, and rings in his eares, with a greate Turke in his neather lippe. Then his body was laide vpon a large beare, whereon was placed a good bedde vnder him: on his one side lay a bowe with a quyer of arrowes, and on his

his other side lay an image made of fine mantels of his owne stature or highnesse, with agreate tuffe of fine feathers, shooes vpon his fete, with bzacelets, and a collar of gold. While his worke was a doing; others were busied in washing the men and women whiche shoulde be slaine for to accompanie him into Hell: these wretched folke that shoulde be slaine were banqueted & filled with drinke, because they shoulde receiue their death with lesse paine. The newe king did appoint those who shoulde die for to serue the king his father, but yet many of them had rather haue bene without his seruice, notwithstanding some simple soules esteemed that odious death for a thing of immortall glory. First, seuen Gentlewomen of noble parentage were appointed to die, the one to haue the office of keeper of his iewels which he was wont to weare, another for the office of cup-bearer, another to giue him water with a bason and ewer, another to giue him alwaies the bynall, another to be his Cooke, and another to serue for laundresse. They slewe also many woman slaues, and free maydens, for to attend vpon the Gentlewomen, and mozeouer, one of euerie occupation within the citie. When all these that were appointed to die were washed & their bellies full with meate & drinke, then they painted their faces yelloe, and put garlandes of sweete flowers vpon each of their heads. Then they went in order of procession before the beare wheron the dead king was carried, some wente playing on instrumentes made of snail shelles, others played vpon bones and shelles of sea turtles, others went whistling, and the most part weeping: the sonnes of the dead king & other noble men carried vpon their shoulders the beare where he cozle lay, & proceeded with an easie pace towarde the Temple of the God Curicaueri: his kinsmen went round about the beare, singing a sorrowfull song. The officers and household seruants of the Court w other

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Magistrates and rulers of iustice bare the Standarts and diuers other armes.

About midnight they departed in the order aforesaide, out of the kings pallace, with great light of fire brandes, and with a heauie noyle of trumpets and drummes. The Citizens which dwelt where the coyle passed, attended to make cleane the stréte. And when they were come to the temple, they went foure times rounde about a great fire made of the wood of Pine treé, which was prepared to burn the dead bodie: then the beare was laide vpon the fire, and in the meane while that the bodie was burning, they mawled with a clubbe those which had the garlandes, and after ward buried them by foure and foure, as they were apparelled behinde the temple.

The next day in the morning, the ashes, bones and Jewels, was gathered & laide vpon a rich mantle, the which was carried to the temple gate, where the priests attended to blesse those diuelliſh reliques, whereof they make a vowe or passe, and thereof an image which was apparelled lyke a man, with a visor on his face, and all other sorts of Jewels that the dead king was wont to weare, so that it seemed a gallant idoll. At the fote of the temple staires, they opened a graue ready made, which was square, large, and two fadom déep, it was also hanged with new mats round about, and a faire bed therin, in the which a religious man placed the idoll made of ashes, with his eyes toward the East part, and hung round about the walles, Targets of gold and silver, with bow and arrowes, and many gallant tusses of feathers, with earthen vessels, as pottes, dishes, and platters, so that the graue was filled vp with house hold stuffe, chests conered with leather, apparell, iewels, meate, drinke, and armor. This done, the graue was shut vp, and made sure with beames, boards, and flozed with earth on the toppe.

All those Gentlemen which had serued or touched any thing in the buriall, washed themselves, and went to dinner in the Court or yard of the Kings house without any table, and hauing dined, they wiped their hands vpon certaine lockes of Cotton woll, hanging downe their heads, and not speaking any woꝛde, except it were to aske for drinke. This Ceremonie endured fīue dayes, and in all that time no fire was permitted to be kindled in the City, except in the kings house and temples, noꝛ yet any coꝛne was ground, or market kept, noꝛ none durst go out of their houses, shewing all the soꝛow that might be possible for the death of their king.

The order of Matrimony among the Indians.



In Tlaxcallan and many other cities, was vsed a principall ceremonie and token of mariage, that y^e Bridegrome and his Bride, agaynst the day of mariage, had their heades polled, which was to signifie, that from that day forwarde, all childish orders shoulde be laide aside, and from that time ne w

haire might grow, to declare another kinde of life. The chiefe knot of marriage vsed in Michuacan, was, that the Bride doe looke directly vpon her spouse, for other wise the matrimonie was not perfite, noꝛ available.

In Mixteoapan which is a great prouince, they vse to carrie the Bridegrome to be married vpon their backs, which is to be vnderstande, that he goeth against his will, but yet they take handes, in token that the one shall helpe the other, and then they knit both their mantels together with a great knot, signifying that they ought continually, while life lasteth, to dwell together.

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The Indians called Macatecas, consume not their Patrimoine in twentie dayes after their marriage, but abide in fasting and prayer all that while, sacrificing their bodies, and anointing the mouthes of the Idols with their owne proper blood.

In Panuco the husbandes buy their wiues for a bow, two arrowes, and a nesse, and afterward the father in lawe speaketh not one worde to his sonne in lawe for the space of a whole yeare. And when the husband happeneth to haue any childe, he lieth not any moze with his wife in two yeares after, for feare least she might be with childe againe before the former childe were out of danger, although some doe sucke untill twelue yeares of age, and for this consideration they haue many wiues. Likewise there is an order among them, that no woman may touch or dyesse any thing being with their mensuall ordinarie.

Diuorcement was not permitted without a iust cause and authoritie of Justice, among those who were openly married, but the other sort might be as easily forsaken as taken.

In Mechuacan was not permitted any diuorcement, except the partie made a solemne oath, that they looked not the one on the other stedfastly and directly at the time of their marriage. But in Mexico they must proue how the wife is barren, soule, and of a naughtie condition: but if they put away their wiues without order and commandement of the Judge, then the haire of the offenders head is burned in the market place, as a shame or punishment of a man without reason or wit.

The paine of adulterie was death, as well for the man as the woman: but if the adulterer were a Gentleman, his head was decked with feathers after that he was hanged, and his bodie burned, and for this offence was no pardon,

pardon, eyt her for man or woman, but for the auoiding of adulterie, they doe permit other common women, but no ordinarie fliewes.

Of the Iudges and order of Iustice.

In Mexico were twelue Iudges, who were all noble men, graue, and well learned in the Mexican lawes. These men liued onely by the rents that properly appertain to the maintenance of Iustice, and in anie cause iudged by them, it was lawfull for the parties to appeale vnto other twelue Iudges, who were of the princes blood, and alwayes abode in the Court, and were maintained at the Kings owne cost and charges. The inferior Iudges came ordinarily once euery moneth to consult with the higher. And in euery fourescore dayes came the Iudges of euery Province within the Mexican Empire, to consult with the Iudges of Mexico, but all doubtfull causes were referred to the King, onely to passe by his order and determination. The Painters serued for notaries, to paint all the cases which were to be resolved, but no sute passed aboue fourescore dayes without finall end and determination. There were in that citie twelue Sergeants, whose office was to arrest, and to call parties before the Iudges. Their garments were painted mantels, wherby they were knowne a farre off. The prisons were vnder ground, moyst and darke, the cause wherof, was to put the people in feare to offend. If any witnesse were called to take an oath, the order was, that he shoulde touch the ground with one of his fingers, and then to touch his tongue with the same, which signified that hee had sworne and promised to speake the troth with his tong, taking witnes therof, of y^e earth which did maintain him. But some do interpret the oath, y^e if the partie sweare
not

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not true, that then he might come to such extremitie, as to eate earth. Sometime they name and call vpon the God of the crime, whose cause the matter touched.

The Iudge that taketh bribes or gifts, is forthwith put out of his office, which was accounted a most vile and shamefull reproch. The Indians did affirme that Necualpincinli did hang a Iudge in Tezcucoc, for giuing an vnjust sentence, he himselte knowing the contrarie. The murder is executed without exception.

The woman with childe that wilfully casteth her creature, suffereth death for the same, because many women did voluntarily vse that fact, knowing their children could not inherite. The punishment of adulterie was death.

The Thiefe for the first offence, was made a slaue, and hanged for the second. The traitor to the king and common weale, was put to death with extreme torments.

The woman taken in mans apparell died for the same, and likewise the man taken in womans attire. Every one that chalengeeth another to fight, except in the wars, was condemned to die. In Tezcucoc the sinne of Zodomie was punished with death, and that law was instituted by Necualpincinli, and Necualcoio, who were Iudges, which abhoyred that filthy sin, and therefore they deserved great praise, for in other prouinces that abhominable sinne was not punished, although they haue in those places common strowes, as in Panuco.

The order of cruell Sacrifice vsed among
the Indians.

At the ende of euery twentie dayes, is celebrated a festiual feast called Tonalli, which falleth continually the last day of euery month, but the chiefest feast in yere, when most men are sacrificed & eat, is at the

the ende of euery fiftie two yeares. But the Tlaxcaltecas and other common weales, do celebrate this feast euerye fourth yeare.

The last day of the first moneth is called Tlacaxipeualiztli, on the whiche day were slaine a hundzed slaues, which were taken in the warres, and after the sacrifice, their flesh was eaten in this order. All the Citizens, gathered themselues together in the high Temple, and then the Ministers or Priestes came and bled certaine ceremonies, the which being ended, they tooke those which were to be sacrificed, by one and one, and laid them vppon their backs vppon a large stone, and then the slaue being on liue, they opened him in the bzeast, with a knife made of flinte stone, and tooke out his heart, which they threw immediatly at the foote of the Altar, as an offering, and anointed with the fresh bloude, the face of the God Vitzilopuchli, or any other Idoll. This done, they pluckt off the skinner of a certaine number of them, the which skinner so many auncient persons put incontinent vppon their naked bodies, all freshe & blondy, as they were steane from the deade carcases. And being open in the backe part and shoulders, they used to lace them, in such sorte that they came fitte vppon the bodies of those that ware them, and being in this order attired, they came to daunce among many others. In Mexico the king him selfe did put on one of these skinner, being of a principall captiue, and daunced among the other disguised persons, to exalte and honoz the feast, and an infinite number followed him to behold his terrible iecture, although some hold opinton that they followed him to contemplate his greate deuotion. After the sacrifice ended, the owner of the slaues did carry their dodies home to their houses, to make of their flesh a solemne feast to all their friends, leauing their heades and hartes to

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the Priests, as their dutie and offering. And the skinnes were filled with cotton wolle, or strawe, to be hung in the temple, and kings pallasie, for a memorie.

The slaues when they went to their sacrifice, were apparelled in the habite or deuise of the Idol vnto whom each of them did commend himselfe: and mozeouer they decked them with feathers, garlandes and floures. Many of these sort of people, do goe to the slaughter with ioyfull countenance, dauncing, demanding almes thzough the Citie for their sacrifice, all the which almes is due vnto the priests. When the graine cozne was a fote above the ground, they vsed to go vnto a certain hil which was appointed for such deuotion, and there sacrificed two children, a boy, and a girle of thre yeres of age, to the honoz of Tlaloc god of water, beseeching him theretofore deuoutlye, to haue alwaies a care to prouide them water: these children were free bozne, and theretofore they hartes were not taken out of their bodies, but after that their thzots were cut, their bodies were wrapped in a new matel, and then buried in a graue of stone.

The feast of Tozoztli was, when the fieldes of Maiz were growen two fote high, then a certaine summe of merchandise was gathered among the dwellers in the towne, wherewith were bought foure little slaues betwixt the age of five and seuen, and they were likewise sacrificed to the god Tlaloc, for continuall shoures of rayne. And those dead bodies were shut vp in a caue appointed for the same purpose. The beginning of this sacrifice of foure children was, at the time when in foure yeares space it rained not, in the which season the springs were dried vp, and all graine things perished: wheretofore they were forced to leaue the countrey, and went to inhabit at Nicaragua. In the moneth and feast of Hueitoztli, when the cozne fieldes of Maiz waxed ripe, then c
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uery one in generall gathered his handfull of Maiz, and brought it vnto the temple for an offering, with a certaine drinke called Atuli, whiche is made of the same Maiz. They brought also the swēte gum Copalli to sence the gods which do cause the cozne to growe: and also that night they ceased not dauncing without drunkenesse. At the beginning of summer they celebrate an other feast called Tlaxuchimcaco, with all kinde of Idoles and swēte floures that might be gotten, and thereof they vsed to make garlandes to set vpon the Idols heades, and so spent all that day in dauncing. And to celebrate the feast called Tecuilhuicli, al the gentlemen, and pzincipall persons of ech pzouince, do come vnto the Citie, on the euening of the feast, and then they apparell a woman with the atire of the Gods of salt, who daunced among a great company of her neighboures. But on the nexte day she was sacrificed with all the Ceremonies and solemnitie accustomed, and all that day was spent in great deuotion, burning of incense in the fire pannes of the temple.

The merchants who had a temple by themselves dedicated to the god of gaines, made their feast vppon the day called Miccailhuitl, wherein they slewe many slaues in sacrifice, which they had bought, and banqueted that feast with mans flesh, dauncing all the day. The feast of Vchpanizeli they sacrificed a woman, and afterwarde her bodie was slaine, and her skinne put vppon an Indians backe, who daunced two dayes a row with al the townsmen, which were apparelled in their best attire to celebrate & feast. The day of Hatamutzeli the feast is kept in Mexico, where they enter into & lake 10 a greate nūber of Canoas, & there they drowne a boy & a girle in a little boat, which they cause to be sunke, in suche sozte, that neuer after that boat appeareth again: & they hold opinion that

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those children were in company with the Goddesses of the lake. So that, that daye was spent in feasting in the temples, and anointing the Idols cheekes, with gum called Vili. There were some Images that had their faces two inches thicke with that gum.

The order of certaine religious
women.



In the backe side of euerye greates Temple, in euerye Cittie was made a greates Hall or lodging, standing alone, where as many women did eate, drinke, lodge, and leade their lines. And although such houses had no orders, they abode there sure enough. These women which lay in the houses of the Gods, were of sundry intentions. But none of them came to abide there all their life time, although among them were some olde women. Some entered into those religious houses being sicke and diseased, hoping there to recouer their health: others came thither through pure nede, and necessitie, to be there relieved: other some came thither to be good and vertuous: and some entered into the religion, hoping that the Goddesses would giue vnto them riches, and long life. But generallye their comming thither was, to haue good husbannes, and many children: eche one of them valued the time that she would or ment to abide in that order, and after that time expired they married.

The first thing that they did comming into the religion, was to polle their heads, to be knowne from others.
Their

Their offices were to spinne cotton woll and feathers, and to weaue cloth, for to apparell the Goddes and themselves, to sweep the yarde and lodgings in the temple (for the stayes and high chappels, the ministers themselves did make cleane) they vsed also to let them blond in certaine partes of the body, to offer to the Diuellish Idols. On euery festiual day they went on procession with the priestes, but it was not lawfull for them to presume to go vpp the staires of the temple, nor yet to sing. They liued on almes, for their kinsfolke being rich, did maintaine them with almes as a charitable seruice done vnto the Goddes: their fode was boyled fleshy, and hote bread, to the intent that they should offer thereof to the Goddes, that they might tast of the smoke of that victual: they vsed to eate in communitie, and lay altogether in one dormitorye, as a flocke of sheepe: they lay allwaies in theyr clothes, for honestie sake, and also to be the sower ready in the morning to serue the Gods, & to go to their worke. And yet I know not why they should put off their clothes, for they went almost naked. On the holy dayes they vsed to daunce befoze the Gods, and she that either talked or laughed with any religious or secular person, was reprehended for the same. And if any of them committed whozedom, then both the man and the womā were slain, yea they beleued that all suche offenders fleshe would rotte and consume away, and especially those which had lost their Virginitie in the time of their religion. So that with feare of punishmente and infamie, they were good women all the while that they aboade there.

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How the Diuell appeared to the Indians.



The Diuell did many times talke with the Priestes and with other rulers and perticular persons, but not with all sorts of men . And vnto him to whome the Diuel had appeared, was offered and presented great gifts. The wicked spirit appeared vnto them in a thousand shapes, and fashions, and finally hee was conuersant and familiar among them verie often. And the fooles thought it a great wonder, that Gods would be so familiar with mortall men. Yea they not knowing that they were Diuels, and hearing of them many thinges befoze they had happened, gaue great credite and belaste to their illusions and deceits. And because hee commaunded them, they sacrificed such an infinite number of creatures . Likewise, hee vnto whom hee had appeared, carried about him painted, the likenesse wherein he shewed himselfe the first time. And they painted his image vppon their dozes, benches, and euerie corner of the house . And as he appeared in sundrie figures and shapes, euen so they painted him, of infinite fashions, yea and some foule, grieuie and fearefull to beholde, but yet vnto them, it seemed a thing delectable. So this ignozaunt people giuing credite to the condemned spirite, were growne euen to the highest hill of crueltye, vnder the coloz of deuout and religious persons, yea they had such a custome, that befoze they would eate or drinke, they would take a little quantitie, and offer it vnto the Sunne and to the earth. And if they gather cozne, fruite, or roies, they would take a lease befoze they would smell it, and offer the same, and he that did not obserue these and such other ceremonies, was iudged one that had not

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not God in his heart, yea, and (as they say) a man out of Gods saucour.

The Viceroyes of Mexico.



The greatnesse of the newe Spaine, the Haieslie of Mexico, and the qualitie of the conquerours, required a man of notable bloud to gouerne, whereupon the Emperour sent thither Don Antonio de Mendosa, brother vnto the Marques de Mo-

niar, for Viceroy, at whose arrivall there returned from thence Sebastian Camires, who had gouerned that countrey with great discretion, and worthy commendation. In recompence whereof the Emperour made him President of the Chancerie of Vallodolid, and Bishop of Culuca. Don Antonio de Mendosa, was appointed viceroy in the yeare 1534. who carried with him many artificers verie expert in their sciences, likewise through his intercession, a money house was erected in Mexico: he also caused silke to be made and wrought in that countrey, and planted many Pulberie trees for the same, Although the Indians little care for such things through their slothfulnes and great liberty. This viceroy Don Antonio, called all the Bishops, Cleargie, and learned men together, to consult vpon ecclesiasticall matters, which tended to the doctrine of the Indians. At that instant was decreed, that the Indians shoulde be instructed onely in the Latin song, which they learned very wel, and also the Spanishe song. They learned the Musicke with good will, especially the flaute: their voyces are not good for the pycke song. At that season was also decreed, that no Indian should take order of Priesthood.

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The vizeroy Don Antonio, built certaine towneſ with Romaine pillars, in honoz of the Emperour, and cauſed his name to be grauen in Marble. He alſo began the Key ſe wharfe in the poſte of Medellin, a coſtly and neceſſarie worke: he alſo reduced the Chichimecas to ciuill lining: he ſpente much mony in the entraunce of Sibola, without any pꝛofit, and alſo thereby remained an enimie to Cortes. He likewiſe diſcouered much land on the ſouth coaſt nere Xalixco: he ſent alſo ſhippes to Molluca, foꝛ ſpices, which were loſt: he behaned himſelfe very pzudently, in the rebellion time of the Indians of Piru.

The Emperour commaunded him afterwarde to goe into the Piru foꝛ vizeroy, coſidering the Licenciat Gaſca, who gouerned there, was returned into Spaine, and likewiſe hauing vnderſtood his good gouernement in the newe Spaine, although ſome complaintes were made of him. It grieved Don Antonio de Mendosa, to depart from the newe Spaine, where he found himſelfe well beloued among the Indians, who had cured him of ſundꝛy diſeaſes with bathes of Hearbes, where befoze he was ſtarke lame, and alſo poſſeſſed of lands, Cattle, and other riche things, which he was loth to leaue. Likewiſe he deſired not to haue to deale with other newe men, whoſe conditions he knew not, although he knewe that the Piruleros were ſubbozne and unruly fellows. But of neceſſitie he was compelled to take that iourney by lande from Mexico to Panama, which ſtandeth ſine hundred leagues diſtant, in the yeare 1551. And that yeere came Don Luys de Valasco foꝛ vizeroy to Mexico, who was a Gentleman wiſe and diſcret in his gouernement. The office of vizeroy in the newe Spaine, is a charge of great honoz and pꝛofit.

The

The conversion of the Indians, doubted this and yett

O how greatly are those Indians bound to praise God, who being servants of Satan, and lost sheepe, yet it pleased the goodnesse of the almightie to haue compassion of them, who hath giuen them light to come of darkenesse, and brought them to the knowledg of their cruell and abhominable life, and hath now giuen vnto them the holy Ghost in baptisme: oh most happie Cortez, thy paines was well imploied, oh valiant Conquerors, your names shall liue for euer. I am now bolde to say, that all that lande which is conquered in the newe Spaine, the people therof are generally conuerted vnto the faith of Iesus Christe: oh what a great felicitie is it vnto those blessed things who were the beginners there of.

Some doe saye, that in the newe Spaine onely are conuerted Christians five Millions. Others hold opinion of eight Millions. And other some doe assuredly affirme, that aboue ten Millions are Christened. But in conclusion, I am assured, that within the limittes of foure hundred leagues, there are none vnchristened.

The conuersion began with the Conquest, but with the diligence in prosecuting the warres, little good was done, vntill the yeare 1524. and then the matter went forward effectually, by reason that certaine learned menne wente thither for the same purpose.

At the beginning it was a troublesome thing to teach them, for wante of vnderstanding the one of the other, wherefore they procured to teache the childeyn of Gentlemen which were most aptest, the Spanishe tong,

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and they likewise learned the Mexican speech, in the which language they daily preached. It was at the first a painfull thing to make them leaue those Idols in whome they had euer beléued, yea and the diuell gaue them cruell warres in spirite, and many times, in appearing in diuers formes vnto them, threating, that if they did call vpon the name of Iesus Christ, it should not raine, and that all their delight and pleasure should bee taken from them, prouoking them still to rebellion against the Christians, but his wicked counsell would not preuaile.

Through great punishment they haue left off the horrible sinne of Sodomie, although it was a great grieft to put away their number of wines.

There are now in the new Spaine eight Bishoppicks, whereof one is an Archbishoppe.

The death of Hernando

Cortes.



Here was a great contention betwéne Hernando Cortes, and Don Antonio de Mendosa, the Vizeroy, as concerning the prouince of Sibola, for each of them pretended a title vnto the same through the Emperors gift, the one by meanes of his office of Vizeroy, and the other by his office of Captaine Generall, vpon the which matter they grewe into such hatred, that perfect friendshippe coulde neuer after take place betwéne them, although at the beginning they were familiar and loving friends: but mallice grew to suche extremitie, that each of them wote vndecently against other, to the Emperour their maister, the which their doings, blemished both their credits.

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Cortes went to lawe with the Licenciat Villa Lobos, the Kings Atturney, about certaine of his vassalls, and also the Emperoy assisted againste him as muche as hee might. Upon consideration wherof, he was enforced to come into Spaine in Anno. 1540. and brought Don Martin his sonne and heire, being a childe of eight yeares of age, and his sonne Don Luys, to serue the pzince: he came very rich, but not so rich as the first time. He entred into great friendship with the Cardinall Loaisa, and the Secretarie Cobos, but it preuailed not, for the Emperoz was gone into Flaunders about matters of Gant.

In the yeare 1541. the Emperour personally went to the siege of Argel, with a mightie army, and Cortes with his two sonnes went also thither to serue him, with a good company of men and hozles, but it pleased God to raise by such a tempest, where with the most part of the flete perished. Cortes then being in the Galley of Don Henrike Enrikes, called the Esperanca, and fearing to lose his rich Emraldes and other Jewels, at the time that the Galley was dyuyn by violence of weather vpon the shoze, he then bound about him the said fine rich Emraldes, esteemed in a hundzeth thousande Duckates, yet notwithstanding thzough the thzong of people, and haste to escape out of sease and mire, the Jewels fell from him, who could neuer heare moze of them, so that the pzesent warres cost him moze then any other, except the Emperours maiestie, although Andrea de Oria lost eleuen Galleys.

But the losse of treasure græued him not so much, as the excludng him out of the Councell of the warres, whereas other yong Gentlemen of lesse knowledge and abilitie were accepted, which was a cause of great murmuring among the hosse. And where in the Councell of warre it was determined to leaue the siege and to depart, it græued many, where vpon Cortes made an open offer,

that he alone with the Spanish nation would presume to take Argell, hauing but the one halfe of the Tudecos and Italians, if it would please the Emperour to graunt vnto him the enterprise. The Souldiers on the land did highly commende his courage, but the Seamen would be giue no care vnto him, so that it is thought that the offer came not to the Emperours knowledg. Cortes went by and downe in the Courte a long season, being fore assisted, in a certaine sute about his bassals, and also the processe and allegations of Nunio de Guzman, laide vnto his charge in his residence. The whole processe was scene in the counsell of Indias, but the iudgemente was neuer pronounced which was a greate hartes ease for Cortes. And then he departed from the Courte toward Siuill, with determinate will to passe vnto the newe Spaine, and to ende his life in Mexico, and also to receiue the Lady Marie, Cortes his daughter, who was come from India, and promised in mariage vnto Don Aluar Perez Osorio, with a hundred thousand Ducketes in dowry, and her apparel, but the marriage toke no effecte, thzough the faulte of Don Aluar and his father.

He then fell sicke of a fire and indisgestion, which endured long, so that on his iourney towarde the Citie of Siuill, he departed this transitorie life, in a little Village called Castilleia de La Cuesta, which standeth a mile from the citie of Siuill, on the second of December, Anno 1547. being thre score and thre yeares of age.

His body was deposited with the dukes of Medina Sidonia.

He left a sonne and thre daughters begotten of the Lady Iane de Zuniga, his wife, his sonne was called Don Martin Cortes, who did inherit his fathers estate, and was married vnto the lady Ana de Arellano, his cousin, daughter to the Countie, De Aguilar, by order of his father.

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The daughters vnto Cortes were named as folloiweth,
the Ladie Donea Maria, Donea Catelina, and Donea Iua-
na who was the yongest. He had another sonne by an In-
dian woman, and he was called Don Martin Cortez. He
had also another base sonne by a Spanish woman, who
was named Don Luis Cortes, & thre daughters by thre
seuerall Indian women.

Cortes built an Hospital in Mexico, and gaue order for
a Colledge to be also erected there. He built also a Tem-
ple in Coioacan, where he willed in his Testament that
bones should be buried at the charges of his Sonne and
heire. He situated foure thousand Duckets of rent, which
yeldeth yearely his houses in Mexico for the pur-
pose aforesaid, of the which foure thousande
Duckets, two thousand should be to
maintaine the Students in
the Colledge.

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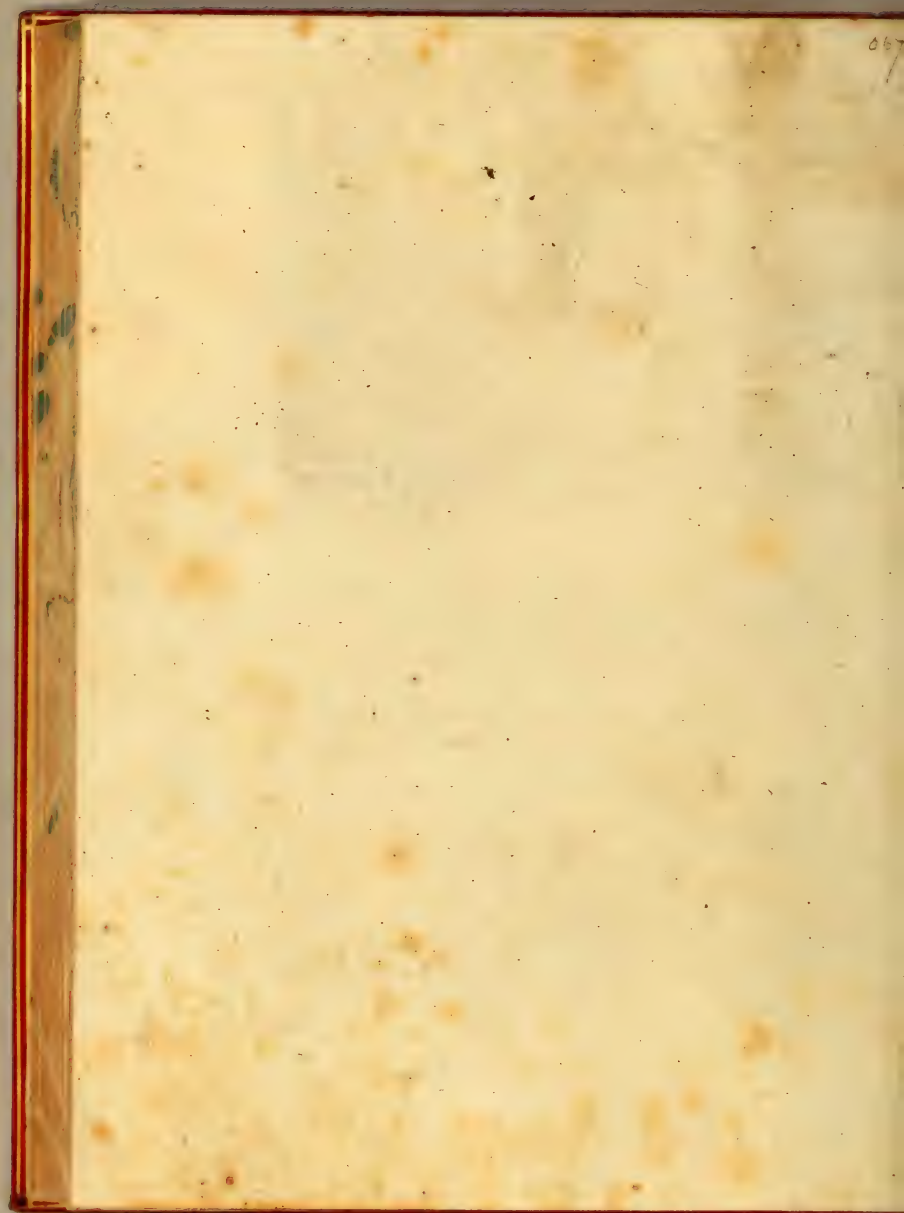
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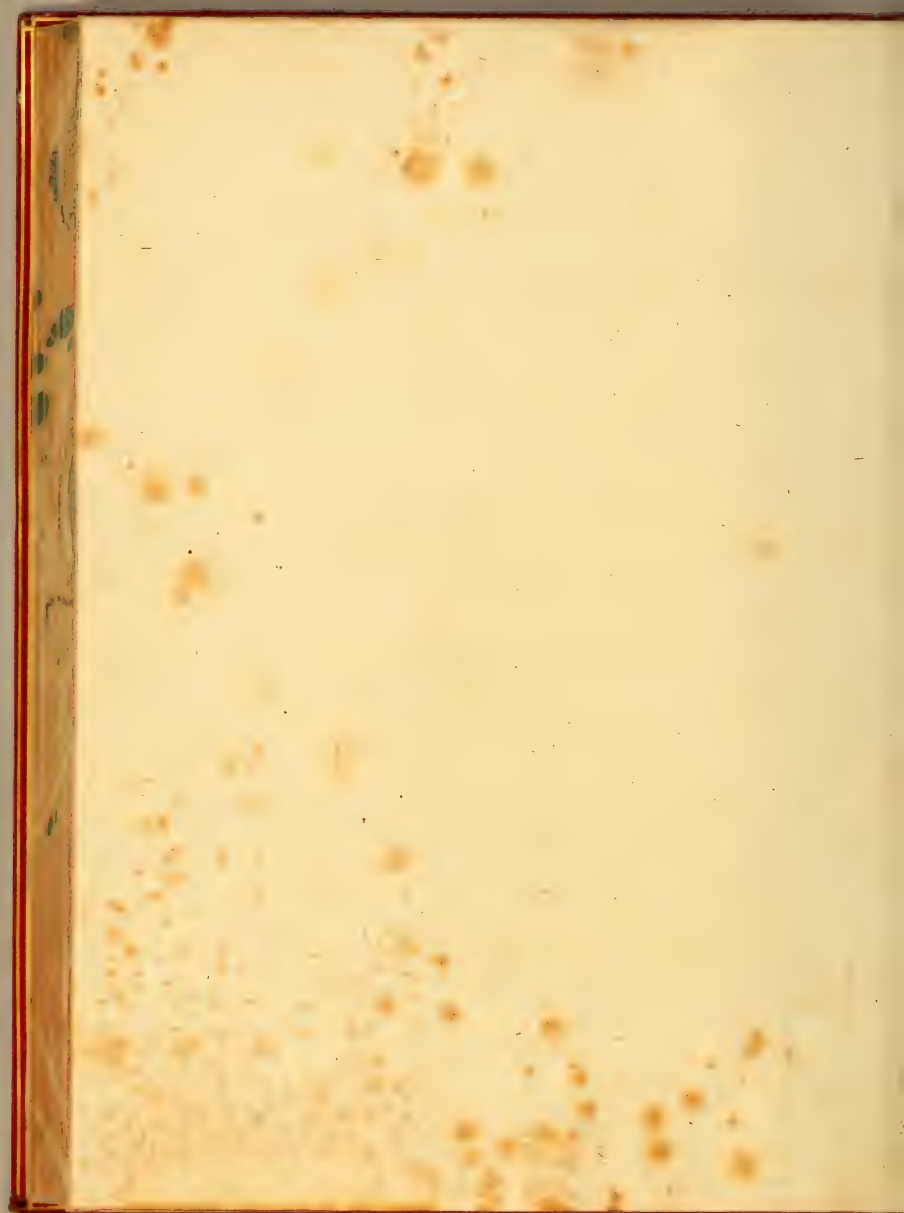
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